

THE
ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1845.

- Art. I.—1. *Statements on Certain Doctrinal Points made, October 5, 1843, before the United Associate Synod, at their request, by their two Senior Professors, Robert Balmer, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology, and John Brown, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology.* 8vo. 86 pp. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons. 1844.
2. *Discourses on the Nature and Extent of the Atonement of Christ. A new and greatly enlarged edition, including Reply to Reviewers.* By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. 8vo. 250 pp. Glasgow: J. Macklehorse. 1844.
3. *Letters on the Atonement.* By Robert S. Candlish, D.D. Free Church Magazine, No. Dec. 1844, and Jan. and Feb. 1845. Edinburgh: J. Johnson.
4. *Minutes of the United Associate Synod for the Years 1842, 1843, 1844, and 1845.*
5. *Irenicum: an inquiry into the real amount of the differences alleged to exist in the Synod of the Secession Church, on the Atonement, and doctrines connected with it.* By Hugh Heugh, D.D. pp. 60. Second edition. D. Robertson, Glasgow. 1845.

Of late years, Scotland, like England, has had its share of religious agitation and controversy. While questions relating to the constituent principles and ecclesiastical policy of the church, considered as a spiritual community, have been occupying, to a large extent, public attention, and dividing public opinion, a very interesting discussion, as some of our readers may be aware,

has been going on for some time back, among certain of the religious bodies in that country, having a reference to the nature and objects of the christian atonement, according to the different aspects and relations in which it is brought into view, in the economy of human redemption. The difference of view existing, or which has been supposed to exist, where the grounds of the controversy have not been very clearly apprehended, has been the occasion, as was to have been expected, of calling forth a variety of publications on the subject, of different degrees of merit, in which, with a sufficiency of the metaphysics for which the Scotch school of divinity is peculiarly distinguished, the sentiments of the opposing parties are zealously advocated. So far as we have been able to gather from some of these publications and other public documents which have come under our notice, the main elements of the question in dispute, although with some differences afterwards to be noticed, appear to be much the same as those which engaged the attention of some of our churches in England about forty years ago, and which gave an opportunity to Mr. Fuller to exercise, with no small effect, in the peculiar relations in which he stood, his controversial pen. The question is, whether the death of Christ sustains any relation, and, if any, what relation to others of mankind besides those who are finally brought to salvation?

For the first four centuries, after the introduction of the gospel, there seems to have been no dispute in reference to the nature and relations of the death of Christ. Adhering to the general language of scripture, the early teachers of christianity appear to have preached a full and free salvation through a crucified Redeemer. The Pelagian heresy, introduced in the beginning of the fifth century, brought the subject into notice, and some of its aspects under discussion. Pelagius held that Christ died for all men equally, and that, in appointing his death, God willed equally the salvation of all men, not designing, for the sake of the merits of Christ, to endow any man with saving and persevering faith, but leaving all to the exercise of their own free wills under the influence of those truths which the word of God reveals, and which, it was contended, were sufficient to lead men to the attainment of salvation. From the time that this doctrine was broached, the reference of the death of Christ became a question in the christian church, some contending that he died, according to the true intention of his death, for all men equally; others that he died for all, but not for all men with the same intention; and others, again, that he died for the predestinate or the elect alone. This last opinion was zealously maintained in the ninth century by Gotteschalculus, who followed, in this respect, the views asserted by the pres-

byter, Lucidus. The same doctrine was afterwards held and earnestly defended by Rhemigius, bishop of Leyden, in opposition to those who, in his time, taught that Christ died, in some view, for others besides the elect. At the time of the reformation, and afterwards, the question divided, to some extent, the Roman catholic church. The controversy was chiefly carried on between the Jansenists and the Jesuits; the Jansenists, who professed to be the followers of Augustine, contending, with great firmness, that Christ died for the elect alone, the Jesuits holding that he died for all men. The discussions which took place at the Synod of Dort in 1618, stirred up afresh the controversies connected with the Pelagian heresy, and brought out in something like a definite and tangible shape, all the points involved in the Arminian scheme of doctrine. By the remonstrants, or Arminian party, who attended the synod, it was maintained that Christ died for all men equally, not with the view of saving any in particular, but of placing all men merely in a salvable condition, by procuring for them easier terms of salvation, together with the influences of common grace, to enable them to comply with these terms. The doctrine which they held regarding the death of Christ as procuring for all men a general, though contingent redemption, was to the following effect:—‘The price of redemption which Christ offered to the Father, was not only in itself sufficient for the redemption of the whole human family, but even by the decree, will, and grace of God, the Father, was paid for all men and every man; so that none is by an antecedent decree of God excluded from a participation of its fruits. Christ, by the merits of his death, has so far reconciled God to the whole human family, that the Father, on account of his merits, without any impeachment of his truth or justice, can enter, and wishes to enter into, and to confirm, a new covenant of grace with sinful men exposed to damnation.’ This opinion the synod condemned and rejected; and it was against the expression of disapproval in regard to this, among other points, that the ‘remonstrance’ of the Arminian party was directed. Although the doctrine of general redemption, as held by Arminians, was rejected by the divines who met at Dort, and that of particular redemption asserted, the all-sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ, according to the place which it occupies in the constitution of the gospel, was not only not disputed, but clearly and broadly affirmed. In chap. ii. of the Canons, the following is the form in which the opinion of the synod is expressed on this point:—‘It was the will of God that Christ by the blood of the cross, whereby he confirmed the new covenant, should effectually redeem out of every people, tribe, and nation, and language, all those, and those only, who

were from eternity chosen to salvation and given to him by the Father; that he should confer upon them faith, which, together with all the other saving gifts of the Holy Spirit, he purchased for them by his death—should purge them from all sin, both original and actual, whether committed before or after believing, and having faithfully preserved them even to the end, should at last bring them, free from every spot and blemish, to the enjoyment of glory in his own presence for ever.' And, again, 'The death of the Son of God is the only and most perfect sacrifice and satisfaction for sin; is of infinite worth and value, abundantly sufficient to expiate the sins of the whole world. The promise of the gospel, is, that whosoever believeth in Christ crucified shall not perish, but have everlasting life. The promise, together with the command to repent and believe, ought to be declared and published to all nations and to all persons promiscuously and without distinction, to whom God in his good providence sends the gospel. And whereas many who are called by the gospel, do not repent and believe in Christ, but perish in their unbelief, that is not owing to any defect or insufficiency in the sacrifice offered by Christ upon the cross, but is wholly to be imputed to themselves.'

Bishop Davenant, who attended as one of the four deputies from England at the meeting of the Dort synod, adhered to the above document as expressive of the sentiments which he held. His notion, as stated in this document, was, that, 'while it was the will of God, that Christ, by the blood of the cross, should effectually redeem his people,' it was also God's will that 'whosoever should believe on Christ crucified should not perish, but have everlasting life—there being no defect or insufficiency in his sacrifice,' why it should not be an adequate ground on which mercy might be dispensed to sinners under the gospel. Archbishop Usher and other distinguished divines who lived at this period, held the same opinion. Polhill also, who wrote somewhat later, and gave his views to the world on the subject, maintained the intentional sufficiency of the death of Christ as a ground of mercy to all men under the gospel, although it was, at the same time, as he asserted, the appointed means of salvation to the people of God. In opposition to the views of those, who, like Dr. Owen and Witsius, contended that there was no reference in the death of Christ to any but the elect, all of these maintained, that, while the sacrifice of the Saviour was a perfect satisfaction for sin, and secured, as it was intended to secure, the communication of all saving blessings to the people of God, it was also, in respect of its intended fulness and sufficiency, an adequate and righteous ground, on which, without raising the question of election in preaching the gospel, the offer of salva-

tion might be made, and its saving blessings bestowed on sinners of mankind. Where controversy has not prevailed, urging men to the adoption of extreme opinions, and where the conventional phraseology employed in communicating divine truth has been clearly defined, the view now stated, it is probable, will be found to have been that which has been most generally held by evangelical churches in this or in other countries.

This view, however, of the intentional sufficiency with the ordained efficacy, of the death of Christ, is not the only one which, in the progress of opinion, has been taken of the atoning work of our Lord, by those professing adherence to the doctrines of sovereign grace as distinguishing the scheme of redemption. Another opinion remains to be noticed; which is, that Christ died for all men, not to secure the salvation of any by his death, but merely to make it possible that they might be saved. This opinion stands connected with, and derives its support from, certain theoretic views which are held as to the order of the purposes or decrees of God, as these bear a relation to each other, in the plan of redemption. By inverting the order of the divine purposes which has commonly been entertained, a scheme of doctrine has been formed, agreeably to which it is maintained, that the sacrifice of Christ, according to the place which it occupies in the economy of redemption, was offered up solely with the design and to the effect, of removing legal obstacles which prevented the exercise of mercy on the part of God towards sinners of mankind—that Christ, therefore, died equally for all men for the purpose of furnishing a ground on which, in consistency with the principles of God's government, mercy might be offered to all; and, consequently, that it is now a possible thing for all men to attain to salvation by returning to God in the exercise of faith. 'God, however, foreseeing,' it is stated, 'that all men would inevitably perish, though Christ thus died for them, unless some further divine interposition took place on their behalf, elected some of our race to everlasting life, determining, in virtue of this sovereign decree of election, to grant to them the special influences of the Holy Spirit to lead them to believe the gospel for salvation.' Whatever be the merits or demerits of this scheme of doctrine, it is to be observed, that it is not that view of the subject which was advocated by Davenant and others, which has just been referred to. It is of the more importance that this should be remarked, because some of its supporters, in more modern times, have been in the habit of appealing to the names of the distinguished men who have been mentioned, as writers who maintained their opinions, and producing thereby the impression that their views were in all respects identical. Neither Davenant, however, nor

Usher, nor Polhill, nor the many respectable writers who held, along with them, the sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ, maintained the opinion that Christ, by divine appointment, died for all men equally, nor did they rest the doctrine they entertained on any peculiar views as to the order of the divine decrees. Davenant cautiously abstained from intermeddling with this as a 'thorny question;' and Polhill, although professedly writing on the subject of the decrees, has only alluded to the point in order to intimate that he declined its discussion. The words of the former writer are very remarkable.—'The marshalling,' says he, 'of the eternal immanent acts of the divine understanding or will into first, second, third, fourth, is a weak imagination of men's brain, and so uncertain, that among twenty who give us such delineations of God's eternal decrees, you shall not find two who agree between themselves in numbering them and ordering them, but where one maketh four, another maketh five, six or seven, &c.; and that which one man setteth in the first place, another setteth in the last; and, in brief, every man ordereth them '*secundum suum modum IMAGINANDI*.' To build, therefore, any doctrines of faith upon the priority or posteriority of such decrees, is to build castles in the air.'

The scheme of doctrine, on which we are now remarking, was first propounded by Camero, teacher of theology in Saumur. It was afterwards warmly espoused by Amyraut, who was called upon to defend himself, because of the alleged erroneous views which he had taken up, before the synod of France, at its meeting a number of years after the synod of Dort, the discussions at which had been the means of stimulating inquiry, and of calling forth the opinions of men of speculative minds, on the debated point as to general or particular redemption. Amyraut was acquitted by the synod before whom he was tried, of any charge of heresy, on the ground of the explanations given by him of the doctrine which he entertained; but, on account of the tendency which the language employed by him had to mislead the minds of the people, who could not be supposed to follow his subtle distinctions, he was enjoined to discontinue the use of the expression 'Christ died equally for all men,' which he engaged to do, on being satisfied of the danger that was likely to arise from its employment.

The doctrine of Camero was to this effect:—'that the death of Christ, under the condition of faith, belongs equally to all men.' The truth of this proposition he avowedly grounded on the view taken by him as to the order of the divine decrees. In the one purpose or plan of redemption, there were, as he considered, altogether four different decrees, relating to four different, although connected objects. There was, first, the decree

or determination, generally, formed on the part of God, to restore his own image in our nature which had been destroyed by sin; there was next, the appointment of his own Son, as mediator, as an accessory step in the accomplishment of this purpose; there was then, in the third place, the decree as to the publishing of the gospel to mankind generally; and, lastly, there was the election of a certain number of the human family to eternal life, consisting of a purpose to bestow upon them those influences of divine grace which should effectually secure their salvation. Taking this view of the several purposes of God, and the objects to be secured by them, in the plan of salvation, he was accustomed to maintain, 'that, while the elect are, by an effectual and irrevocable calling, saved through the death of Christ, Christ died for all men with the intention that they may be invited and called to repentance; and that, when so invited and called, it arose from themselves alone, and the hardness of their hearts repelling the means of salvation, that they are not saved.' Amyraut held the same views. In his treatise, *De Predest.* chap. v. he states, 'that since the misery of the human family is equal and universal, and the desire which God has to free them from it by a Redeemer, proceeds from the mercy which he exercises towards us his creatures fallen into destruction, in which we are all equal, the grace of redemption that he has procured for us should be equal and universal, provided we are equally disposed to its reception * * The nature of the thing,' says he, 'proves this; for seeing the affection of the Son must be the same with that of the Father for all men, as his children, so the death of Christ in time, must be conformed to the eternal decree of the Father, as he would not make an atonement unless according to the decree and command of his Father. Therefore, when the decree of the Father respecting Christ's death, proceeded from equal fatherly affection towards all before they were elected to faith, Christ in his death could have no other end and intention than to execute his counsel. * * He died to fulfil the decree of the Father, which *proceeded from an equal love to all.*' The same views, based on the same speculative theory, were propounded by Truman in his treatise, entitled '*The Great Propitiation,*' published in 1672. They were afterwards favourably received, and extensively adopted in America, more especially in New England, where they became the basis of that school of theology of which Hopkins, Emmons, West, Griffin, and other equally well known writers, may be regarded as the representatives. In this country, also, although associated with different shades of opinion on the correlate doctrines of substitution, imputation, and federal representation, they have found some able and zealous advocates.

In the discussion which has recently been going on north of the Tweed, all the opinions now mentioned, it would appear, have their respective supporters. Before adverting to the different theories on the subject, which are thus maintained, it may help to throw some light on the present state of sentiment, and to explain the position which the different parties occupy in relation to the question, to trace shortly, as far as we have it in our power to do so, the circumstances in which the controversy originated, and the subsequent shape which it has assumed.

The religious sentiments of Scotland, it is well known, are, generally speaking, formed according to the Geneva school of theology. The Westminster Confession of Faith and the larger and shorter catechisms, constitute the platform of doctrine and of worship which is all but universally recognised. It is but right to state, however, that these symbolical books are adopted professedly by the churches, not as an authoritative rule of faith and practice, superseding the word of God, but simply as an expression, on the part of the ministers and members of the churches, to themselves and to the world, of what those views of divine truth are, which the scriptures, the supreme standard in such matters, are understood and believed to contain. Although few people have greater advantages than the Scotch, for drawing their instructions fresh from the word of God, both by reason of the scriptural education which they enjoy, and the excellent practice which their ministers follow of delivering regular expository discourses from the pulpit, it is not difficult to perceive that, in the department of what has been termed systematic theology, the compilations now referred to, must have had no small influence, along with other causes, in moulding, to a considerable extent, on doctrinal questions, the national mind. In the Westminster Confession and in the catechisms, both of which were purposely framed in opposition to the Arminian scheme of doctrine, the subject of particular redemption, as a branch of revealed truth, is carefully inculcated. In chap. iii. sec. 6, it is declared, 'that as God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he, by the eternal and most free purpose of his will, foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore, they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ; and are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season; are justified, adopted, and sanctified; and are kept by his power through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.' And in chap. viii. sec. 8, it is stated, that to all those for whom Christ hath purchased redemption, he doth

certainly and effectually apply the same, interceding for them, &c. It is elsewhere, indeed, asserted, 'that God, in the covenant of grace, freely offereth unto *sinners* life and salvation by Jesus Christ, requiring of them faith in him that they may be saved, and promising to give unto all those that are ordained unto life, his Holy Spirit, to make them willing and able to believe.' Chap. vii. sec. 3. In whatever measure, however, this and similar statements may be understood as qualifying the preceding declarations, and bringing into view the breadth and harmony of gospel truth, there can be no doubt that the strain of sentiment pervading both the confession and catechisms, is in favour of a particular redemption in a somewhat stringent sense. In the national theological nomenclature, accordingly, the influence of this may be very readily perceived. Such terms as atonement, propitiation, expiation, satisfaction, ransom, and the like, are very rarely used by preachers or writers, as is the case in most other countries, to signify simply 'the obedience unto death' of the Son of God as a sacrifice for sin, but that sacrifice viewed in connexion with its blessed effects in the case of the people of God—Christ, their Saviour, being regarded as procuring for them by his death, 'eternal redemption.' However clearly, in other connexions, the ground of a sinner's hope before God is understood and set forth in gospel statement, as consisting of the righteousness of Christ, revealed in the word of God, 'unto all, and upon all them that believe,'—yet, from long established usage—such is the meaning almost uniformly attached to the terms referred to, that, were they employed in a different sense, they could not fail to suggest wrong associations to the mind. We do not mean to say that it is a thing in itself to be commended, thus always to employ scriptural or other terms with one meaning attached to them, when that one meaning may not exhaust the truth in relation to the subject to which they are applied; we merely advert to the fact as it stands, because it is fitted to account, in no small measure, for much of the confusion of ideas and perplexity which the controversy we are now remarking upon has occasioned to many good and pious minds.

The discussion with reference to the doctrine of the atonement was introduced, as we learn, some years ago, into one of the churches of Scotland, viz., the United Secession, by certain parties, now no longer of its communion, promulgating, in the most unqualified terms, that Christ died equally for all men. This assertion, as it afterwards appeared, was based on one of the theories of atonement to which we have been referring, and which, in order to furnish an apparently consistent ground for such a declaration, supposes that, 'in the order of the divine

decrees,' election comes *after* atonement. 'In the order of nature,' it was stated, 'election comes after atonement. God foresaw that all men would become hell-deserving sinners; he resolved, in consequence of his ineffable love and pity, to provide an atonement sufficient for the salvation of all; he resolved to offer this atonement to all: so that all should be able, and all should be welcome, to come and accept it as all their salvation. He foresaw, however, that not one of the whole human family would be willing to be saved in this way—and then he elected.' In a country, where the expression 'universal atonement' had been regarded for upwards two centuries as the *vox signata* of Arminian sentiment on the subject of redemption, it is easy to imagine that such an assertion of doctrine could not be otherwise than highly offensive. Apart from whatever objections might be brought against it otherwise, it was certainly liable to this one,—that, in the circumstances, it was fitted to mislead, and, by occasioning strifes of words, to disturb the peace and harmony of the church. If the doctrine, however, was thus offensive of itself, it could not fail to be regarded with still greater suspicion and disfavour, when it was viewed in connection with the peculiarities with which it was associated. While it was maintained, for example, on the one hand, that Christ, by his death, 'secured salvation to none,' it was strangely asserted on the other 'that if a man saw it to be true, that Christ died for him, as he died for all other men, he became possessed at once of the assurance of salvation.' Christ, it was asserted, had rendered satisfaction to the justice of God for the sins of all men; and the question, accordingly, was put to unbelievers, 'Do you not see that, if God *is* thus satisfied with reference to *your* sins, by Jesus having borne the punishment of them in *your room*, and as *your substitute*, you are safe—saved?' Along with this, it was also held, as it would appear, 'that men had power of themselves (as sinners) to believe and to put away unbelief—the only obstacle standing between them and salvation;' and forasmuch as faith consisted in merely 'seeing' that to be true which the word of God affirmed respecting the death of Christ being a satisfaction for sin, (and which constituted 'THE gospel') it was declared, that there was no need why the Holy Spirit should operate, in any peculiar manner, on the *head*, or understanding of men; and, farther, that it was altogether wrong for any 'anxious sinner' to pray to God for grace or for any thing else, till he believed (which he had sufficient power of himself to do), which believing, consisted 'in seeing it to be true, that as Christ had satisfied the justice of God for *his* sins, and God, as a moral Governor, *was* now satisfied with reference to his sins,—he was *saved*'—the alleged truth believed,

giving at once the absolute assurance of salvation. In the public documents from which we have collected these statements, other notions, of a very crude description, are put forth. Such views, it is clear, could not be sanctioned by any church having regard to her character, or the purity of her doctrine ; and, accordingly, when all attempts had proved fruitless to reclaim the parties by whom they were maintained, their separation from the fellowship of the church became painfully necessary.

The system, of which the views we have now stated formed the germ, has, since the period to which we have referred, more fully discovered its character, and developed its tendencies. During the progress of the discussion which was provoked, and, which in some quarters, was injudiciously promoted, the 'elective affinity' principle—to use an American expression,—came, to some extent, into operation, attracting from different churches, Presbyterian and Congregational, persons who had been led to adopt and avow similar sentiments. As a proof how rapidly the human mind, under certain conditions, pushes forward the principles it takes up to their legitimate consequences, it may be observed, that the system of which we speak, according to the published sentiments of those who are its proper expounders, embraces unreservedly the following tenets : that God loves all men with an equal love ;—that he desires equally the salvation of all men ;—that the FACT of the atonement is *the* gospel ;—that it is an absurdity to say 'that a sinner is not able to believe God's testimony as to this fact, in regard to Christ's work 'as a finished work ;'—'that the Holy Spirit is using *all* the influences which our circumstances will admit of to bring *all* men to believe the gospel ;'—'that God is no respecter of persons — so that, if a man perish, it is not because God loves him less intensely than he loves others, but because God cannot, consistently with wisdom and rectitude, and consequently, benevolence, *do more for his salvation than he has done.*'

We have been the more careful to notice the facts now mentioned connected with the origin of the present controversy on the subject of the atonement, in the sister country, and to point out the phases of doctrinal peculiarities with which the movement on the question has been associated, because we have reason to believe that, on this side of the Tweed, they have been but imperfectly understood, and because, on this account, the real state of sentiment, as to the all important points at issue, have, to some extent, been misapprehended. In regular course of judicial procedure, according to the Presbyterian form, the subject was brought under the consideration of the synod of the United Secession Church, at a number of its successive meet-

ings, during the last few years. And, as it may be interesting to know, what views have been expressed, and what conclusions have been come to on a subject so important, by a body occupying so influential a position as that which the United Secession Church does in Scotland, we shall transcribe one or two of its decisions. At its meeting in 1842, when the question relating to the atonement was brought under its notice, the synod held and declared, among other things:—‘That it was an error to assert, that Christ in dying had no special love to his people;—that it was equally an error to affirm, that though the atonement of Christ has a general reference, and opens a door of mercy to all, it yet ‘secures salvation to none;’—and, still farther, that it was an error to hold that *all* the ends to be effected by the atonement were *not* necessarily and simultaneously present to the divine mind in the appointment of the Redeemer to die for sinners, and that all these ends were *not* present to the mind of the Son in making the atonement, nor infallibly secured by it.’ At a second meeting, held in October, 1843, when the discussion was renewed, the synod again adopted the following conclusion: ‘That on the two aspects of the atonement, there was entire harmony among the brethren—namely, that in making the atonement, the Saviour bore special covenant relations to the elect, had a special love to them, and infallibly secured their everlasting salvation; and that his obedience unto the death, afforded such a satisfaction to the justice of God, as that on the ground of it in consistency with his character and law, the door of mercy is open to all men, and a full and free salvation is presented for their acceptance.’ At a subsequent meeting in 1844, it would appear that a memorial was presented by a party who had been absent at the previous meetings, praying that the decision come to might be reviewed and reversed. The synod, in disposing of this memorial, declared, ‘that it saw no reason for disturbing that decision: inasmuch, however, as there was reason to fear that the meaning of the decision had been misapprehended, the synod thought it proper to declare that it was not intended as an alteration of the standards of the church, but rather as an expression of the existence of harmony in regard to the system of divine truth which these standards contain.’ In May last, the whole question having again been considered, for the satisfaction of certain parties, at a very full meeting of synod, a similar deliverance was given on the subject. In a speech distinguished by great clearness and force, and breathing the sentiments contained in this excellent tract, Dr. Heugh moved the following resolution, which the synod adopted; viz., ‘That as none of the recent synodical decisions implied, or were intended to imply,

any alteration of our subordinate standards, which we retain, profess, and believe, as heretofore; that as the synod, by their unwavering adherence to these standards, their condemnation of errors in opposition to them, and their having recently excluded from the fellowship and ministry of the church those who had deviated from its doctrine, have done what seemed desirable, under the blessing of the Head of the church, for guarding our fellowship against Pelagian and Arminian errors, or doctrines having such tendency; and having, in October, 1843, declared the truth of God respecting the relation of the Redeemer and his sacrifice, to those given to him by the Father, as infallibly securing their salvation, on the one hand, and, on the other, their relation to sinners of mankind indiscriminately, being presented in the gospel as sufficient for all, and suited to all, and free to all, irrespective of any distinction betwixt elect and non-elect;—that, for these reasons, the synod do not deem it expedient to enter farther into these doctrinal discussions; they earnestly recommend to the memorialists, and to all under the charge of the synod, to abstain from this unprofitable strife, and they enjoin on all ministers and probationers (preachers), to beware of the use of doubtful, objectionable, and misleading phraseology, in the great work of ministering the grace of God for the saving instruction of men; to speak as they ought to speak, using ‘sound speech, which cannot be condemned;’ and speaking also the truth in love, and, by manifestation of the truth, commending themselves to every man’s conscience in the sight of God.’ In these several decisions, the mind of the synod, in regard to the points which had occupied the attention of the church, was very clearly, although guardedly expressed. The whole proceedings seem to have been characterised by wisdom and moderation; and the sentiments expressed appear in harmony with the tone of doctrine which, from its origin, has prevailed in the church of the Secession. We have had occasion lately to look into the writings of some of the early fathers of the Secession church, and have been gratified to observe, notwithstanding what many, perhaps, might deem the somewhat rigid form of their systematic creed, the apostolic freeness, and earnestness, and unction, with which they promulgated the grand and essential truths of the gospel.

We have left ourselves space to do little more than notice the different theories, on the Calvinistic side of the question, which are now in the course of being advocated, in the present discussion regarding the atonement, in the attempts which are made to exhibit, in their divine harmony, the elemental truths of the gospel. The first theory maintained is, that the atoning work of Christ, in the plan of salvation, has no relation whatever to

sinners of mankind, considered as such, but was undertaken and executed for the elect alone. 'Of all theories,' says Dr. Candlish, who seems to have espoused this view of the question, 'the most inconsistent is that of a universal atonement, or an atonement with a general reference to all mankind, taken along with a purpose or provision of special grace, in regard to its application. To say that, in a sense, Christ died for all, but that, in so dying for all, he stipulated in covenant with the everlasting Father, that the Spirit, without whose agency his death would be effectual for the salvation of none, should be given infallibly to a certain number, and to them alone—this is so manifest an evasion of the real perplexity, so shifting and sandy a refuge, that none can long continue to occupy such a position.' The conclusion, therefore, from this, is, that the work of the Saviour, according to the scheme of redemption, had no relation to any but the elect, whom he purposed to save, and that, under the divine administration, it was intended to subserve no other design than their salvation. Taking such a view of the subject, it might be asked, what are we to make of the gospel constitution, established confessedly on the basis of the work of Christ, and having a relation, according to divine arrangement, to mankind at large? 'It is the command of God,' Dr. Candlish affirms, 'to sinners, as such, to believe the gospel, for salvation.' Believe what? What is *the* truth, it may be asked, which, *in the first instance*, requires to be believed in order to inspire the mind of a *sinner* with confidence towards God, or which is fitted, in the nature of the case, to lead him to embrace the Saviour, and to rely upon him for salvation? Is it not that, it is testified by God, whether he receive it as true or not, that a way of access has been opened up for him, all guilty as he is, unto God—that the righteousness of the Redeemer is revealed as a sufficient ground of acceptance 'for all,' and therefore, as sufficient for him; and that it is the *will* of God, made known in the gospel from the lips of the Saviour himself, 'that *every* one who seeth the Son and believeth on him, may have everlasting life?' If it be 'the will' of God thus publicly and pointedly revealed to 'every' sinner, as such, to whom the word of the gospel comes, 'to believe on Christ,' by receiving and relying on *his* righteousness, instead of his own, as the means, according to the plan of mercy, of 'his justification unto life,' surely this part of God's will must be regarded as a branch at least of that eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus in appointing him to the office of Mediator; nor can any sinner be warranted to raise the question whether *he* is destined to receive more grace from God, if that grace which *has* been manifested towards him as toward 'all men,' in the offer of Christ, and of salvation by him, 'is

received in vain.' 'The law of the Spirit of life, which is in Christ Jesus,' that is, as we understand the expression, 'the method according to which the Spirit operates in imparting life to sinners, and carrying on this life in the soul,' renders it necessary that the truths of the gospel should be believed for salvation; and it is the work of Christ, undoubtedly, which gives the reality to all those views of the character of God, and those manifestations of his grace, which the gospel unfolds. All this, Dr. Candlish himself seems to admit, when he states—'that to all alike the work of Christ is a manifestation of the divine character; that to 'all alike it is a proof and pledge of the desire, involved in the very nature of God, as originating such a way of salvation at all, to see every sinner return to himself, and to welcome every one so returning,' and that to every one who hears the gospel, assurance (on the divine testimony, of course), of the full and infinite sufficiency of Christ's work for any, and for all, who will come to him.' The testimony of God, in the gospel, as 'to the infinite sufficiency of Christ's work for all,' being true, whether men believe it or not, must surely involve a 'general relation' of the death of Christ to sinners of mankind, committing them to a fearful responsibility in disbelieving or rejecting this branch of the testimony of God, declaring to them, on the word of him that 'cannot lie,' the way of salvation!

The second theory maintained in the present discussion, is, that, while according to the gospel constitution or plan of salvation, the work of Christ is an all-sufficient ground, on which, in consistency with his holy character and government, God, as a merciful and gracious God, offers pardon and acceptance to sinners of mankind, it is, at the same time, by divine appointment, the effectual means whereby he carries into effect his own sovereign purpose of grace in regard to his people, by actually bestowing upon them, for Christ's sake, all the blessings of salvation. This is the theory which is maintained, as we have seen, by the synod of the elder Secession church of Scotland. It takes for granted, it will be observed, that the gospel of the blessed God, according to divine appointment, is to be preached to men, in the first instance, not as elect or non-elect, but considered simply as perishing sinners; that it is a truth, revealed in the gospel to men, that the righteousness of Christ, which is confessedly the means, legally considered, whereby the people of God are justified and accepted, is, by reason of its justice-satisfying and law-magnifying character, the all-sufficient ground, on which every sinner availing himself of it by faith, may be justified and accepted: and farther, that in saving his people, according to his own purpose towards them in Christ Jesus, God saves them not irrespective of, but in accordance with, that consti-

tution of mercy, which he has established under the gospel. In this aspect, the work of Christ, as a work of righteousness, is regarded as possessing a functional character, namely, as designed to reconcile justice with mercy, in the pardon and salvation of sinners under the holy and just government of God. The system of the gospel, in which God makes known his merciful character, is viewed as a system of reconciliation: God in Christ, 'reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them.' Although the justice of God is regarded as satisfied with the work of Christ, as an all-perfect work, and although God is viewed as having sustained it as a complete fulfilment of the claims of his law, yet, it is not conceived that, in an absolute sense, God is, by reason of the work of the Saviour, already satisfied with every sinner, and already reconciled to him in point of fact, ere he believes the gospel, or is brought into a state of union with the Redeemer. What is meant, is, that the Saviour, by reason of his work, is all-sufficient to reconcile sinners unto God. 'Whom God hath set forth *to be* a propitiation through *faith* in his blood, to declare his righteousness in the forgiveness of sins that are past through the forbearance of God; to declare at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus.' Those who believe, accordingly, and who receive the benefits flowing from the mediatorial work and office of Christ, can appropriately say, 'we *have* redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace;' 'We joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we *have* received the reconciliation;' 'Being justified by faith we *have* peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.' This theory, which presents such views of the nature and design of the atoning work of the Saviour, may be said to be that of INFINITE SUFFICIENCY, with a DEFINITE EFFICACIOUS DESTINATION.' In the words of Dr. Wardlaw in his essay on Assurance, 'the blood of Christ may be infinite in its atoning value, and yet limited in its atoning efficacy; sufficient for the salvation of all, and yet effectual for the salvation of some only.' Dr. Brown, of Edinburgh, who occupies deservedly so very high a place in the United Secession church, and in Scotland generally, both for his learning and his piety, in presenting his views recently in his 'Statement' before the synod, expresses himself to the following effect: 'With respect to the design of the death of Christ, and the atonement for sin made by that death, I am equally persuaded that, by the divine appointment, the death of Christ removes 'the legal bars' in the way of human salvation generally, and 'opens a door of mercy to mankind,' making it consistent with the perfections of the

divine character, and the principles of the divine government, to make a free offer of salvation, through the faith of the gospel, to every human being; *and that*, by divine appointment, the death of Christ secures the actual salvation of those, whom, in sovereign mercy, from all eternity, he has elected to everlasting life.' 'The proposition,' adds he, that 'Christ died for men, has been employed in three different senses. In the sense that he died with the intention and to the effect of securing salvation, I hold that he died for the elect alone. In the sense that he died to procure easier terms of salvation, and grace to comply with these terms, I hold that he died for no man. In the sense that he died, in order to remove legal obstacles in the way of human salvation, and open a door of mercy, I hold that he died for all men; and whether in thus dying for all, he expiated the sins of all, or made atonement for all, depends on the sense you affix to these expressions. In one sense, he did; in another sense, he did not. I dislike all extreme statements, all startling expressions on this subject. As to the whole subject of the order of the divine decrees, I have no hesitation in saying that I dare not attempt so high an argument, or indulge in speculations, which, whether transcending the human faculties or not, certainly do overmaster mine. 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain to it.' In a further 'Statement' made before the synod in May last, the views of this distinguished theologian are thus given with regard to our Lord's substitutionary work:—'Christ did what a certain number of mankind were bound to do, and suffered what they were bound to suffer; he fulfilled the precept, and he sustained the penalty of the law, to which they were subject, and which they had violated. In consequence of this, these persons are redeemed; called and justified, sanctified and saved; and all this was the result of divine appointment, and was the intention of Christ, in obeying and suffering. He was treated according to their obligations, and they are treated according to his deserts—and they are, by the divine appointment, necessarily connected with each other. This is the substitution of Christ in the room of his peculiar people. From the absolute perfection of our Lord's work, it follows, that, in doing what was necessary, and, in connexion with covenant engagements, effectual, for the salvation of his people, that he did, what all men were bound to do, he suffered, what all men were bound to suffer; for this he undoubtedly did, when he obeyed the precept, and endured the penalty of the divine law. In consequence of this, a sincere offer of pardon and salvation is made to mankind sinners, as such. And, in this case, too, every thing is the result of the divine appointment, every thing is according to the intention of

our Lord, in obeying and suffering. The work of Christ is one, but it serves more than one purpose, and it was intended to serve more than one purpose.*—pp. 22—23.

The other theory which has been occupying attention in the present discussion respecting the atonement, is that founded on the hypothesis propounded by Camero, and adopted by others since his day, with regard to a certain order of the divine decrees. According to this hypothesis, election, or the purpose of salvation, 'comes *after* atonement.' The whole human family are foreseen by God as in a state of guilt and misery—a desire of general benevolence or goodness arises in the mind of God to save them. Prompted by this desire, he contrives, in infinite wisdom, a plan of salvation. The Son of God is foreseen all ready,—he undertakes the work of human redemption, is appointed to the office of Mediator. The gospel is resolved to be offered to all men, but is foreseen as having been rejected by all. God then elects a certain number of the human family to eternal life, purposing, in sovereign love, to bestow upon them those special influences of divine grace which shall infallibly secure their salvation. This has been called by its recent supporters, the scheme of INDEFINITE OR UNIVERSAL atonement, with GRACIOUS SOVEREIGNTY IN ITS EFFECTUAL APPLICATION. Our limits do not permit us to enter at present into any lengthened examination of the merits of this theory, or to contrast the principles it involves with those of the other schemes which have been mentioned. Although it has received all justice in its advocacy, by Dr. Wardlaw, in his recent work on the subject of the atonement, it is still considered as open to a number of the objections that have been brought against it. Not to speak of the general ob-

* Notwithstanding the above statements, so clear and explicit in their nature, their author, strangely enough as it would seem, was charged by two of his brethren, at a meeting of the synod of the Secession Church, held in July last, with unsound views on the doctrines of election, substitution, atonement, &c. After being occupied for several days in considering the charges, the following deliverance was unanimously come to by the synod:—'The synod, in reviewing the deliberations and decisions during this and the other sederunts, finds, that all the charges made against Dr. Brown have been disposed of by being severally declared unfounded; finds there exists no ground even for suspicion that he holds, or has ever held, any opinions on the points under review, inconsistent with the word of God, and the subordinate standards of our church: the synod, therefore, dismiss the libel, and while it sincerely sympathizes with Dr. Brown in the very unpleasant and painful circumstances in which he has been placed, and renews the expression of confidence in him, given at last meeting, it entertains a hope that the issue of this case has been such as will tend, by the blessing of God, to restore peace and confidence throughout the church, and terminate the unhappy controversy which has so long agitated it.'

jection brought by Davenant against the hypothesis itself on which the scheme of doctrine is founded, that 'it is a mere imagination of men's brain, and that, therefore, to build any doctrines of *faith* upon it, is to build castles in the air,' it has been considered that, if it proves any thing at all, it proves something too much.

1. It is held as setting aside, and making no account whatever, of the special saving love of God, in the *origination* of the whole scheme of salvation. A general 'desire' of benignity, such as God feels, and must feel, from his very nature, even in the case of fallen angels, prompts the divine mind to devise the plan of redemption. In this general benignity, exclusive altogether of the operation of special love, the entire plan of redemption is represented as having its source—a position, to which it cannot be wondered at that many should feel a difficulty in yielding an assent. If election be *after* atonement, as alleged, the death of Christ procures the special love of God to his people, instead of the gift of the Son of God, for their salvation, being the highest expression and proof of his love towards them. Christ, likewise, could not then be said, as the scriptures assert, 'to love his church, and give himself for it,' but must first be conceived to lay down his life for another object, and then afterwards *begin* to love his people. It has been considered as difficult, also, to conceive of a general cause giving birth to any special effect. In reply to all this, it has been said, that scripture sanctions the representation given, inasmuch as it is declared that the people of God 'were chosen in Christ,' which supposes the recognition of the Son of God as Mediator. It is plain, however, that the choice of our world, instead of fallen angels, to the enjoyment of a constitution of grace, presupposes the same thing. And if the Son of God is presupposed as mediator, *before* our world was chosen to the enjoyment of any advantages from his work, for whom or for what, it may be asked, was he thus contemplated as appointed to the mediatorial office which he was to occupy?

2. The theory has been viewed as objectionable because of its separating, in the divine purpose, the work of Christ from the actual salvation of his people. If, according to the original purpose of God which called the atonement into existence, it, as a means in relation to the end, 'secured the salvation of none,' it has been considered as difficult to conceive how any subsequent purpose could impart to IT (the atonement) an efficacy which it did not originally possess in the case of God's people, or cause fruits of a saving kind to flow from IT, which, according to the design of God in its appointment, it was not intended to impart. To this, it has been answered, that the 'sovereign pur-

pose of God in its application' secures all saving results. The expression, however, of a 'sovereign purpose of application,' has been considered, from the sense in which it is sometimes employed, as one of a rather ambiguous signification. If the one 'design' for which the atonement was called into being was, as is alleged, to 'make it a possible thing *merely* that sinners might be saved,' it might seem that when *this* end was effectually secured, by a ground of pardon being furnished to all, the atonement was as fully applied as it was capable of being applied, and that the purpose, therefore, for which it was called into existence was *entirely* exhausted. If, again, in point of fact, God, according to his purpose of grace, actually bestows upon his people, for the sake of the work of his Son, the influences of the Divine Spirit, leading them to a reception of the truths of the gospel,—and if, on the ground of the same righteous work, God actually pardons and accepts of those who believe in Christ—that is, reckons his righteousness to *their* account, as received on their part by faith, to the effect of its being the legal means, under his holy and righteous administration, of their justification and acceptance,—it is not easy to see how the Saviour's work, according to the place assigned to it in the economy of mercy, can be said 'to secure the salvation of none.' And we confess that we are unable to perceive, according to *this* meaning of the expression—the meaning, as we suspect, that was attached to it by Fuller—what the exact difference is, between 'a sovereign purpose of application,' and a 'sovereign purpose of definite destination' in respect of the saving fruits flowing from the atonement in the case of the people of God. The designed destination of the atonement, in its efficacious results, in the case of some, cannot be understood to interfere with its sufficiency as a ground of acceptance in the case of all to whom it is presented in the gospel; and, in no view, can it be conceived as doing this more at least, than does a 'sovereign purpose of its application.' It has been said, that the intention or purpose of God is one thing, and the atonement another. Metaphysically considered, this may be conceived of as being the case; but, looking at the work of Christ, in connexion with the ends for which it was appointed, as revealed in the word of God, such a distinction can have no place. The atonement is exactly what the purpose of God has made it, and nothing more. Our meaning is not, that the intrinsic and infinite worth of Him by whom it was made, can be augmented or diminished by divine appointment; our meaning is, that it is the purpose of God which gives to the atonement that constitutional character and efficacy which has been assigned to it in the economy of redemption, whereby *all*

those ends are secured which were contemplated by God, when it was appointed, sustained, and finally accepted. It has been said, that the work of the Saviour in respect of his atonement was a perfect work, and that there is nothing, consequently, in the atonement which gives it any quality that makes it more suitable in regard to one sinner than another. So far as the intrinsic perfection of the Saviour's work is concerned, this may be said to be true. But, granting that the righteousness of the Saviour is a perfect righteousness—that nothing can be added to it to make it more complete than it is—and that, consequently, it is as sufficient to justify one man as another before God, when, as received by faith, God reckons it to his account,—is there any sinner, it may be asked, who *can* be justified, according to the plan of salvation, who is not regarded and treated as righteous in the eye of the law of God by having the work of Christ *imputed* to him to this effect.' If this cannot be, then, although there may be nothing in the work of Christ, considered in itself, as an all-perfect fulfilment of the claims of the law of God, which gives to it any original suitableness, or sufficiency, or applicability, for one man more than for another, it cannot surely be disputed, that the same divine purpose which made the atonement to be what it is in the case of sinners of mankind as such, viz., an available justifying righteousness, has made it also to be what it is in reference to the people of God—the effectual means of salvation: so that God's people, called to the fellowship of his Son, can say, and say with truth, 'In the Lord have we strength AND righteousness.' It was the purpose of God, in originally appointing the work of his Son, that it should be imputed to his people for righteousness; and hence 'the blessedness of the man to whom God,' in execution of this purpose, 'imputeth righteousness without works' as the means of salvation. It has been said by some of the advocates of this theory, that the atonement 'is *the* removal of legal obstacles in the way of the salvation of sinners;' and that this, according to the scheme of divine grace, was all that it was intended to accomplish. But, considered *in itself*—if we must conceive of it thus, as separated from *all* its effects—the atoning sacrifice of the Saviour cannot properly be said to be *the* removal of legal obstacles, any more than it can be said that, according to the purpose for which it was offered, it was *the* 'legal bar' to the final condemnation of the people of God. Who shall lay anything to the charge of God's elect—as interested in this work?' It is Christ that died, that his people might *be* justified. 'For whom he did foreknow,' &c. 'Much more being justified by his *blood*, we shall be saved from wrath through him.' If the work of Christ be, in itself, merely a perfect work

of righteousness in relation to the law of God, then there can be nothing in the atonement which constitutes it '*the* removal of legal obstacles,' any more than there can be anything in it which makes it the effectual means of the salvation of God's people. In both cases, when these things are affirmed of it, the atonement is spoken of, not as it is in itself, but according to its effects,—the effects secured by divine appointment, being put for the means by which they are produced. If it be said, therefore, that it '*is the* removal of legal obstacles,' it must be because the purpose of God has made it so, in subserviency to the '*design*' for which it was appointed; and if so, then it must be admitted, on the same principle, that the same purpose has made it in effect *the* redemption of the people of God. It has been stated, that the atonement would remain '*inert and powerless*' but for the influence of the Holy Spirit. The influence of the Holy Spirit is not to be denied as leading the sinner to the saving knowledge of Christ, and to an apprehension of him by faith as he is offered in the gospel. But, though it be customary with some to speak of the Holy Spirit's influence being communicated by '*a separate arrangement*,' from that arrangement in which the atonement is included and its influence exerted, when it is said that the atonement would be actually '*inert and powerless*,' but for the influence of the Spirit of God, the statement must surely be made in forgetfulness of the active and all-prevailing mediation of Christ, through whose intercession, grounded on his own sacrifice, the influence of the Spirit, according to the promise of the Father, '*is shed down on us abundantly.*'

3. It has been objected to this theory, farther, that, to say the least, it has some very doubtful tendencies. In teaching that the entire plan of mercy originated *solely* in general love to mankind, it has been conceived to lay the foundation for doctrinal views not in harmony with the sovereignty and supremacy of divine grace, as '*this grace reigns, through righteousness, unto eternal life by Jesus Christ*' in the case of every sinner's salvation. If God loved all men equally at first, he must (and this is acknowledged) have '*desired*' the salvation of all men equally; and, if this really was the case in the origination of the scheme of salvation, it may seem to some minds somewhat difficult to account for any change of the plan, at any subsequent stage, either in its supplemental reconstruction or operation.

In answer to these and similar objections, we are aware, that it may be said, that the view as to the order of the divine decrees, on which the scheme of doctrine now alluded to has been founded, is mere hypothesis, and is only a mode of con-

ceiving of the operations of the divine mind according to what *we* think is, or ought to be, the order of nature in their arrangement. But if it be the case, as it is admitted, that, in the mind of God, there is neither past nor future, neither priority nor posteriority, but one eternal *now*—if this, we say, be admitted to be an indubitable fact, then surely it might be as well not to teach, by way of hypothesis, that there *is* such a distinction, or to familiarize the mind with exhibitions of doctrine founded upon it, as if it really were a matter actually revealed in the word of God. There is no necessity for such an analysis of the truths of the gospel by tracing each up to its separate purpose in the divine mind, when it is admitted that all the doctrines which the gospel contains have their foundation in the will of God as made known in his word. With what is secret, as a rule of life, we have nothing to do. Between what is secret and what is revealed, in the plan of salvation, there is, we may believe, a perfect harmony, although this harmony we may not be able in every instance fully to trace. It is enough for us that we receive the plainly accredited facts which God has revealed. That theory must ever be the safest and the best, which embraces at least all the facts of the case, however these may be attempted to be accounted for or to be reconciled with one another. Although true philosophy must ever be in harmony with the principles of religion, there is a danger, where speculation is pushed too far, of resting our faith too much on a mere philosophical basis, instead of the direct testimony of God, and of shaping the truths of the gospel in such a manner as to mould them into a conformity with the plausible theories we ourselves may have formed. Our blessed Lord has furnished to us an example how we ought to conceive, and how we ought to speak in regard to such matters, when he exhibits, in its combined aspects, the will of God for our salvation, as connected with his own mission into our world. ‘I came down from heaven not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. For this is the Father’s will who hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up at the last day. *And* this is the will of him that sent me, that *every one* who seeth the Son and believeth on him may have everlasting life; and I will raise him up at the last day.’

Art. II.—*Travels in India, including Sindh and the Punjab.* By Captain Leopold Von Orlich. Translated from the German, by H. Evans Lloyd, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Longman & Co.

THESE volumes are full of information, and will be read with interest by all who are desirous of accurate and diversified information respecting our Indian possessions. The author, a Prussian officer, having obtained the permission of his own sovereign, and of the British government, proceeded to Bombay in 1842, with a view of joining the army, then supposed to be engaged in a long and perilous contest. His object was the acquisition of military experience, for which the peaceful state of Christendom happily afforded no opportunity: and it strikingly exemplifies the vitiated order of sentiments prevalent throughout Europe, that such a man, whose general feelings are obviously virtuous and honourable, should, for such a purpose, voluntarily take part in a struggle, which had its origin in the worst vices of our Eastern government. For wars strictly defensive, something may be pleaded; but the military spirit which we cherish and applaud, and by which honourable men are induced to place themselves at the disposal of others, to be employed in the work of devastation and death, wheresoever, or against whomsoever they please,—the virtuous indifferently with the vicious, the patriotic defenders of their country, equally with the servile hordes which fulfil a tyrant's bidding; this is a state of things so hostile to the Christian faith, and so obviously inconsistent with our personal responsibilities, that we may well marvel at its prevalence. Its gradual disappearance will be the inevitable result of the prevalence of christian sentiments, until religious men will esteem the *profession* of arms to be as incompatible with christian discipleship, as any of the other, and more generally admitted forms of immorality. We have been led to these remarks by the author's brief preface, and must return to his volumes.

The progress of the British arms was much more rapid and decisively successful than had been anticipated. The disasters of Cabool were, to use the current phraseology, retrieved by the victories which followed, and our author consequently did not join the British forces in time to take part in their struggles. 'He saw,' he tells us, 'how well the laurels graced the brows of the victors, but with the mortifying reflection that he had come too late to witness how they had been won.' The main purpose of his journey being thus defeated, he wisely determined to avail himself of the opportunity furnished, to collect information respecting that 'remarkable country which has been visited by

very few of his countrymen.' The volumes before us contain the result of his observations, communicated in the form of letters to his friends. These letters are strictly descriptive, and contain little beyond the form of the epistolary style of composition. After narrating his voyage from Southampton, his journey across the desert, and his ultimate arrival at Bombay, on the 6th of August, Captain Von Orlich proceeds to describe the manners, occupations, moral habits, and superstitions of the Hindoo races, with the condition and prospects of the British power amongst them. His letters of introduction secured him ready access to the best European society, and the friendly offices of all with whom he mingled, were at his service. Much was thus accomplished in a short time, and the whole is portrayed in an easy unembarrassed style, which contributes greatly to the pleasure of his reader. We have often heard of the feats of the Indian jugglers, some specimens of which were exhibited to our author, and are thus briefly described:—

'Having determined to undertake a journey to Poonah, in company with the younger son of my excellent host, the general's lady contrived to let me see some specimens of the dexterity of the natives. First of all, several men, women, and children appeared in the garden, to exhibit their skill in balancing; it is impossible for you to form any conception of the agility, distortion of limb, and pliability of body of these people: our rope-dancers would have been quite abashed in their presence; but I can tell them, for their comfort, that they would have displayed more grace in their exhibitions. They represented almost all kinds of remarkable animals, in doing which several bodies were so interlaced, that the different individuals could scarcely be distinguished. They also performed feats of strength, and one man bore on his shoulders six others, standing two and two above each other. These performances were succeeded by a band of jugglers, consisting of a long-bearded old man, accompanied by three boys and several women. They first exhibited various tricks with tamed serpents, among which was the venomous cobra de capella; these animals sometimes danced to the sound of a pipe, twined themselves together, and then suddenly disappeared. They then exhibited the most extraordinary transformations, some of which were wholly inexplicable. Thus, a strapping boy fifteen years old, contrived to creep into a round basket, two feet high and three feet broad, in such a manner that when the basket was opened there was nothing to be seen of him; he must have managed most cleverly to cower down into the veriest nook on that side of the basket which was nearest us. The exhibition closed with thrusting daggers down their throats, and flames issuing from their mouths.'—Vol. i. pp. 58, 59.

At Poonah, whither he speedily proceeded, our author had an opportunity of witnessing the reception given to the new governor, Sir George Arthur, by some of the more wealthy Hindoo

merchants. The ceremony was to him both interesting and unique, and the description he gives is illustrative of Hindoo manners, and of the relation subsisting between the natives and their English rulers.

'Amid the sound of unharmonious music, the host received his distinguished guest at the threshold of his gate, which opened into a quadrangle surrounded by open arcades. A narrow, dark staircase led to the very simple, low, reception room on the second floor. Here the gentlemen of the family and the servants were standing. As soon as we were seated on divans and chairs, the music (consisting of a small drum, a pipe, and a kind of guitar) immediately struck up. Some of the Bayadères commenced dancing, while others at the same time crowned us with wreaths of flowers, and sprinkled us with ottar of roses. At the desire of the host, the company were presented with various kinds of gilded spices on silver salvers, and the beetle-nut, neatly folded in beetle leaves and mixed with catechu and chunam, were handed round. The Bayadères were very much ornamented with jewels, and wore massive rings in their ears and noses and around their ancles: they were dressed in gay garments, which fell in ample folds around them; and a scarf of the finest texture covered their neck and bosom, while their beautiful silky black hair hung down in braids over their shoulders. During their dance, which consisted partly in a revolving movement, partly in a springing step, they flung the shawl in various graceful forms about the body, and accompanied the music with a monotonous song. To heighten the beauty of their eyes, they had blackened the eyelids with antimony. Their hands and feet were small and delicate, and the contour of the figure and of the countenance extremely elegant and noble: if not actually beautiful, these Bayadères had a very attractive, feminine appearance.

'After we had looked at the dancing for about a quarter of an hour, our host conducted us to the interior small flower garden, enclosed by the Zenana, in the centre of which was a basin with a fountain. Festoons and garlands, interspersed with innumerable lamps and painted paper lanterns, diffused a magic charm over the whole scene. While gazing around on these elegant decorations, we saw the wives and daughters of our host peeping through a wooden lattice in the second story; but no sooner did they perceive that they were remarked, than they immediately vanished from our inquisitive eyes. After taking leave of our host, we visited several other persons of distinction, and everywhere met with a similar reception: the more wealthy, of course, displayed greater splendour and profusion in the decorations of their houses, and likewise brought forward more numerous Bayadères.'—*ib.* pp. 67, 68.

Accounts having reached the government of disturbances in Sindé, the departure of troops was hastened, and Sir Charles Napier, who was appointed general, having offered him a place on his staff, Captain Von Orlich embarked in the Zenobia steamer for the Indus. The cholera made fearful ravages

amongst the soldiers during the voyage, but they arrived at length at Kurrachee, whence they made excursions into the surrounding country, in order to see whatever was remarkable. One of these was to the Alligator Pond, about ten miles north of the town, where a singular spectacle was witnessed, illustrative of the grosser superstitions of the people. The pond in question was about two hundred paces long, and fifty broad, overgrown with grass and weeds, and contained but little water.

'In this pond above fifty alligators are kept, several of which are more than twenty feet long. These animals are accounted sacred, and the pilgrims must offer a goat to obtain a sight of them, and to satisfy their rapacity. They are under the special charge of fakirs, and we had scarcely dismounted, when several of these dirty, naked men came to offer their services. One of them broke off some reeds to keep at bay the eager alligators, and cried in a mournful tone, 'owh! owh!' 'come! come!' Above thirty of these reptiles instantly crept out of the water, and, like so many dogs, lay in a semi-circle at the feet of their master. It was a strange scene to see these animals with wide gaping jaws, not more than four steps from you: but they were so docile that they drew back at the slightest touch with the reed. Meantime our guide had purchased a goat for a rupee; it was slaughtered on the spot, and thrown in large pieces to the alligators, which greedily tried to snatch the morsels from their companions, and in so doing their scaly bodies struck with such violence against each other, that some of them rolled completely over. After they had finished their repast, the fakir drove them back into the pond. The largest and most sacred of these alligators, which we estimated at nearly twenty-five feet in length, was kept by itself in the basin.'—*ib.* pp. 83, 84

At Hyderabad he was introduced to the Ameers of Sind, whose subsequent misfortunes have invested them with an interest, which induces us to give the following brief sketch of their appearance:—

'After we had passed through the gate and ascended the platform, the Ameers, headed by Meer Nasseer Khan, surrounded by many of his chiefs, came out to meet us. When Mr. Mylne presented me to them, they all shook hands with me, and Nasseer Khan invited me to take a seat, which was placed opposite to him. The Ameers had taken their places on a long silk divan, around which were ranged the chiefs in picturesque groups, either standing, or sitting cross-legged upon carpets, each with his sword or gun before him, and all eyes turned upon us; the moon shed a magic splendour over this scene, every object, even in the far distance, was perfectly distinguishable.

'Meer Nasseer Khan, the eldest son of the Ameers, who has a revenue of eleven lacs, is so extremely corpulent, that he is incapable of any bodily exertion, and even on the chase prefers the slow camel to the fleet horse. His highness is, however, considered by his Be-

looches to be the handsomest man in the country. Meer Mahomet, an elderly man with a long, flowing, grey beard, is somewhat disfigured by a harelip: he is the same who boasted to Sir Alexander Burns that he had promoted his journey through Sindé, and vaunted himself upon being a great friend of the English. He carried in his hand a magnificent sword, richly adorned with jewels, and a snuff-box which was in constant requisition. Meer Shadad and Meer Hussin Ali are brothers, the former is distinguished by remarkable beauty of person, and highly polished manners. He was leaning on a blue velvet cushion, adorned with brilliants; and when he passed his hand over his carefully trimmed black beard, and raised his dark, flashing eye, I felt involuntarily drawn towards him. His younger brother, who is only seventeen years of age, is shy and mistrustful. Meer Sobdar Khan was not present; he is no on good terms with his colleagues, and desired to receive me alone. They all wore velvet Sindé caps, embroidered with gold; coloured silk garments, pantaloons, and red shoes; pearl necklaces and valuable rings were their only ornaments.—*ib.* pp. 111, 112.

The British army of reserve assembled at Ferozpoor, whither our author proceeded, and where Lord Ellenborough made his entry on the 9th of December, attended by one hundred and twenty elephants, and seven hundred camels. The scene witnessed was animated in the extreme, and in its gorgeousness and parade, admirably suited the temper of the titled representative of British sovereignty.

‘In front of the tent of the Governor General is a road 150 paces broad, along which are pitched tents of the superior civil and military officers, and aide-de camps, composing the administration: above forty clerks belong to the department of the secretary of Government alone. At the end of this road or street is the tent which has been put up for me: it is divided into three compartments, with double walls and roofs, thirty feet long, and twenty broad. The Governor-General has a body guard of two officers and 120 cavalry soldiers, and hundreds of servants. A regiment of cavalry, another of infantry, and a brigade of artillery, do duty in the camp.

‘Lord Ellenborough’s Durbar tent, consists of three large tents, and is 168 feet long, thirty-two broad, and twenty-eight high. The apartments are covered with the most costly carpets, and are lighted up in the evening with chandeliers; iron stoves impart warmth and cheerfulness; and a canopy, in front of which the standard of England floats on a lofty pole, marks the entrance. From this Durbar tent, a glass door leads through a covered passage to the dwelling and sleeping tents. When we sat down to dinner, which was served on silver, the band of the Governor-General struck up ‘God save the Queen:’ a servant in a scarlet livery stood behind the chair of each guest, while two stately Hindoo attendants fanned his Lordship with a chowree, made of the tufted tail of the Hindoo ox, in a slow and measured movement.

'A few days after the arrival of Lord Ellenborough, the irregular cavalry made trial of their skill in the presence of his Lordship. The Governor-General, as well as all the superior officers, and the ladies, were seated on a long row of elephants, while a number of spectators were ranged on horseback. The riders, dressed in red and yellow, first riding at full gallop, fired their matchlocks at glass bottles, nine of which were struck; then, continuing at their utmost speed, they thrust at the tent pins with the lance—a feat which required great dexterity and bodily strength: all sorts of equestrian exercises concluded the interesting spectacle. Lord Ellenborough presented the victors with handsome arms; such as guns, sabres, and bows.'—*ib.* pp. 186—188.

Such spectacles are well adapted to effect the delusion for which they are designed. In the glitter and show, the perpetual stir and excitement exhibited, they effectually conceal the real character of war, and stimulate those passions of which ambition makes profitable use. Some dark spots, however, are discernible, even in the bright picture sketched by our author. A red striped tent at the south corner of the barracks at Lahore saddened his mind, by recalling the fate of the dreaded Affghan princes, who resided there, in extreme poverty. 'There is, probably,' he remarks, 'no country in the world which can produce such sudden changes of fortune as India.' Surely the time is coming when men will be too intelligent, and reflecting, to be deluded by such miserable cheats.

The reception given to General Sale and his brigade, on their return from Jellalabad, is vividly described, and presents a picture of Indian life, which few Prussians have had an opportunity of witnessing. The Affghan dress, which is eminently picturesque, must have contributed greatly to the influence of the scene. We give the account in our author's own words:—

'On the following day General Sale crossed the Sutlej, and advanced to the camp of the army of reserve: Lord Ellenborough had invited me to ride thither with him upon his elephant. It was perfectly dark when our cavalcade of elephants left the camp: we were, therefore, preceded by torch-bearers, while the body-guard followed. The army of reserve lined the road on both sides, and close to the bridges stood 200 elephants richly trapped and painted. On Lord Ellenborough's approach, these sagacious animals saluted him, by kneeling down and raising their trunks in the air, a mark of respect which they had been taught by their Mahouts. The bridges were adorned with flags and streamers; and at the side of one of them a gallery was erected, under which we took our places. Several Indian princes, and many ladies on elephants and on horseback, imparted a picturesque and poetic charm to the scene.

'At eight o'clock General Sale's brigade defiled, the bands playing 'God save the Queen,' amid the thunder of the artillery and the

enthusiastic cheers of the army. A joyous, yet affecting, sensation pervaded the whole assembly, when the officers and soldiers, led by the heroine of the day, Lady Sale, mounted on a magnificent elephant, saluted their friends. The brave warriors who followed showed not a trace either of the privations of a protracted siege, or of the fatigues of a long march. In the rear of the troops came the baggage, the whole presenting the most strange, but most faithful picture, of a march of crusaders. Invalids mounted on elephants and camels, and others, more seriously ill, in palanquins or doolees; camels, oxen, and asses heavily laden; here an Afghan female closely veiled, with trellis embroidery before her eyes, and wrapped in a white robe, which merely exposed her small feet, covered with gold-embroidered slippers; there a mother with her child on a camel; children on ponies, fondling a cat or a dog, or watching pigeons and fowls in baskets; fettered game-cocks and fighting rams; men, women, and children in the strangest costumes; Afghan chiefs with their families; merchants and servants of the most diverse nations and professions, flocks of sheep and goats, and waggons drawn slowly by oxen.

‘The passage of this motley train of one brigade, across both the bridges lasted full four hours! We were never tired of looking at this diminutive emigration of the nations, and remained nearly an hour longer lost in contemplation and reflection. We afterwards assembled at breakfast, in a tent, pitched near one of the bridges, where these varied scenes were again brought before us.

‘In the evening the Governor General gave a most splendid entertainment in his tent to the valiant defenders of Jellalabad, and, according to the English fashion, there was no lack of fine speeches and toasts. Lady Sale was present at this feast: she has passed nearly the whole of her life in India, and is a soldier's wife in every sense of the word; but she has the appearance of a worthy matron rather than of the bold determined heroine of the day.’—*ib.* pp. 189—191.

Captain Von Orlich, at the invitation of Lord Ellenborough, accompanied the British embassy to Lahore, ‘the most brilliant court in India.’ This city contains 80,000 inhabitants, and is about eight miles in circumference. Its first appearance is imposing; but on closer inspection, the streets are found to be narrow and dirty, the houses which are brick built, with flat roofs, are high, and a trench running down the middle of the streets, renders them almost impassable in rainy weather.

‘The bazaars are the most animated part of the city, though nothing remarkable is to be found there; they furnish little beyond eatables, to which our elephant very unceremoniously helped himself with his trunk as he went along. The people ran to the windows and the platforms to look at the strangers; even the women and girls appeared without their veils, so that we could readily distinguish the women of Kashmir, by their fair complexion, from the natives of

India. Very few of them could be called pretty, but they all had fine bright eyes; they had, however, blackened their eye-brows, and had even painted little patches of antimony on their cheeks, and were covered with a superfluity of jewels and rings. They laughed and made sportive remarks upon us, which seemed to be provoked by my friend's eye-glass, held fast by the eyelid.'—*ib.* p. 218.

During the residence of the embassy at Lahore, a grand review of the native army took place, from our author's description of which, some notion may be formed of the military resources of the Indian empire. It will be observed that several of the officers in the service of the Maharaja are European, principally French. This is an important feature in the policy of Indian princes, and if followed out to any considerable extent, would materially affect the character of Indian warfare, and shade our prospects.

'The grand review was fixed for the 10th of January. About two o'clock his highness appeared before our house to conduct us to the camp, and was dressed entirely in white muslin trimmed with gold lace. Dheean Singh was seated in the howdah behind him, holding an umbrella over his head, a matter of some difficulty, as it was six miles to the place where the troops were assembled. After a full hour's ride we reached the camp, where the Maharaja and the ambassador mounted another elephant, richly caparisoned, and carrying a gold howdah on his back.

'The troops, amounting to 60,000 men with 200 pieces of cannon (of which, however, only the half had horses affixed to them), occupied a line of eight miles, and had passed the whole time, from five o'clock in the morning till now, before they could be arranged in this manner. In spite of the remonstrances of the European officers in Shere Singh's service, Heera Singh had chosen this position, in order, as he said, the more clearly to exhibit the great number of the warriors.

'The procession was opened by the three carriages of his highness, among which was the large state carriage, built by Runjeet Singh, drawn by six horses, and surrounded by a verandah in which there is room for twenty Bayaderes, who were obliged to amuse the one-eyed hero during his journeys. The turbaned coachmen were dressed in the manner of English grooms, and looked more like the outriders of troops of equestrian performers than the whips of a state carriage. Next followed the riding horses, with gold bridles and saddles and velvet trappings, embroidered in beautiful patterns, with pearls and rubies. Before the elephant of the Maharaja rode the provost of the army, in the uniform of an English officer of the general staff, except that a huge turban took the place of a hat and feathers.

'Something more than a third part of the army which was assembled here consisted of regular troops, and of these about 5,000 were

cavalry. They are divided into divisions and brigades, and are under the immediate command of the European officers. The command is given in the French language, but the tactics differ in the various brigades; those which are under French officers being trained on the French system, while those under British officers, according to the English tactics. Thus unity is wanting, and discipline is defective. A single mishap would cause a complete disruption of these troops, and endanger the lives of their commanders. This, in fact, happened to General Court, who, on the accession of Shere Singh, faithful to his oath, refused to do homage till the ex-regent had absolved him from his allegiance to her; on this, the general was attacked in his own house by his own soldiers, and had a most miraculous escape.

‘These troops are better paid than those of the East India Company, but not so regularly, and two rupees per month are besides deducted from their pay for their maintenance. Their uniform is red and blue: some regiments wear chakos, but most of them turbans; they are armed in the same manner as the English. The cavalry is in general well mounted, and consists of cuirassiers and dragoons. With respect to the artillery, the guns are scarcely inferior to those of the English, but their horses are very indifferent. Their movements are rapid; their firing very unskilful, for of six shot from six-pounders only one hit the mark at a distance of 800 paces.

‘The irregular troops consist chiefly of cavalry, who are obliged to furnish their own horses, weapons, and clothing; some are armed with spears, shields, and bows, and the greater part of them have matchlock guns; they are excellent soldiers, brave and vigilant, and are quickly rallied after a defeat. The irregular infantry, armed with guns and spears, can make no resistance in the open field. The most distinguished among them are the Chagaris, led by the Akalees; they are clothed in black and have black standards, with a lion embroidered on them.

‘We were a party of between forty and fifty elephants, and rode along the front. Generals Ventura and Court's division was on the right wing; each regiment had its own band of music, and presented arms as we approached. Almost every one of the Sikh officers of these regular troops was dressed according to his own taste; some in English, others in French uniform, or in a mixture of both; some wore turbans, or caps with shawls wrapped round them, and others helmets and chakos: some had high boots with coloured tops, others shoes; some wore white, and others coloured pantaloons. It was altogether a strange medley; General Court wore a French general's uniform, and joined us on his elephant. The irregular cavalry, about 10,000 strong, looked very picturesque,—nay, antique.

‘As we approached the Akalees, those savage hordes set up a scornful shout; some galloped out of the ranks and, with uplifted hands, abused the Maharaja; his highness, however, who appeared quite used to this sort of thing, took no notice whatever, and said

he was glad that they had not pelted him with mud, as they had frequently done to Runjeet Singh on similar occasions. My elephant, unfortunately, became tired just at this juncture, which afforded these ruthless clamourers a welcome opportunity to manifest their insolence. I sent my servant to Major Skinner, with the request that he would let me join him on his, but I had scarcely seated myself when the strength of that animal likewise failed. Dheen Singh observed our embarrassment, and immediately despatched an officer to fetch the state carriage, in which we took our seats, and were joined by General Churchill and Captain Somerset. As the review was over, and nothing remained but for the artillery to fire a salute, we returned in Runjeet Singh's Bayadere coach, to our camp.—*ib.* pp. 227—230.

The observations of our author on the materials of the Anglo-Indian army, have all the advantage of his professional knowledge, with the candour and freedom of an impartial bystander. He does full justice to the British officer, 'High spirits, thirst for glory, conscious independence, self-confidence, a practical mind, and the ability of quickly accommodating himself to every circumstance,' are represented as his characteristics; while the strict discipline of the army is affirmed to be the basis of its marvellous success. A broad line of distinction is traced between the Hindoo and the Mahometan portion of the troops, from the latter of whom, most danger is anticipated. His remarks on this subject deserve attention, and as illustrative of the character of the people, will be read with interest:—

'The Mahometans of India, both in the army and in towns and villages under the British dominion, as well as those of foreign states, are every where the same. They belong to one great family, united by the same religion and the same interests, and will always be ready to defend their national cause with their services and their money. Religion and government are never divided in the mind of the Mahometan, and he will never forget that his supremacy in India has been totally overturned by the English.

'The eyes of the whole Mahometan population of India, will be turned upon him who preaches a crusade against the infidels, and the result will be followed and supported with as much anxious expectation and interest in the remotest village of the Deccan, as in Calcutta or Delhi. Symptoms of such a disposition have frequently appeared, even in the army. Yet it is difficult to determine the impression which it would make on the Mahometans in the ranks of the British army. They are more observed by their officers and their Hindoo comrades, than the inhabitants of the towns can be, and we may be certain that they would be the last of the Mahometan population, to join in any such movements.

'At present this is not to be apprehended, nay, it is almost impos-

sible that a general rising of the Mahometans in India can take place; they have lost all hopes of it; and if the Mahometan does not acknowledge it, yet he feels most sensibly that there is now no existing power to which he could attach himself. Beside, the Mahometans of India are already so infected with Hindooism, the customs and manners of which they have imbibed from their childhood, that they have neither energy nor decision enough to divest themselves of it.

'The war against the Afghans (the preceding, as well as the latest combats,) has amply proved the efficiency and capability of the native soldier. The Mussulman is not so effeminate, yet as brave, trustworthy, and enduring as the Hindoo: but he is not so temperate. Both, however, require to be led by an European officer; if they lose their confidence in him, they give themselves up for lost. They are ready to risk their lives for their officers, of which I have been told many instances: and are filially attached to them.'—*ib.* pp. 241, 242.

It may not, perhaps, be known to all our readers that the leopard, like the falcon in former days, is trained to minister to the amusement of man. He is employed in hunting the antelope; and of his habits, when so engaged, our author gives the following brief account:—

'On the 17th of January we set out for the village of Deerbah. We followed in the rear of the troops and the camp, who covered the whole road of thirteen miles in extent, and we had considerable difficulty, and were obliged to go a good deal about, before we could wend our way amid this vast multitude. We were accompanied by some of the Sikh rajahs, one of whom had an elephant with him, which was only six months old, and was born in a domestic state; another of the rajahs had a leopard, which had been trained to the chase of antelopes, and we arranged for a hunting party with it immediately after our arrival. On these occasions the leopard is hoodwinked as the falcons are; as soon as the huntsman is near enough to the game, the cap is taken off from the leopard, the leader strokes his hands several times over the eyes of the animal, and turns his head towards the antelope. Scarcely does the leopard perceive it, when he immediately springs forward, but, if he does not succeed in overtaking the antelope in two or three leaps, he desists and quietly lies down. His leader again takes him up into the cart and gives him some meat and water to strengthen him. The attempt is then renewed, but, if he fails a second time, he is quite discouraged, and is unfit for the chase for some days. The antelope possesses such elasticity that it makes leaps of thirty to forty paces, and, therefore, easily escapes from the leopard, and hence it is indispensable to get as near to the game as possible. But if the leopard succeeds in catching the antelope, he leaps upon its back, clings to it with his paws; it falls down; he thrusts his fangs into the neck of the

hapless victim, and sucks the blood, and then quietly follows his leader.

'We were on two carts, drawn by oxen, and the leopard with its leader was on a third. The weather was clear and cool, for we had only $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. at noon. Two miles from the camp we perceived a herd of antelopes, and we succeeded in getting within fifty paces of them. The leader feared that the antelopes would not stand still any longer, and let the leopard loose, but the ground was too much covered with thorns, and the antelopes made such tremendous leaps, that the leopard, after making two bounds, gave over and lay down. A second attempt was equally fruitless, and we were obliged to return unsuccessful.'—*ib.* pp. 261—623.

On the 5th of February, 1843, Captain Von Orlich entered Delhi, the ancient capital of the Great Moguls. The governor-general and his attendants, amongst whom our author was included, were mounted on elephants, and the chief men of Delhi, on about fifty of these noble animals, were ranged in a line by the road-side, waiting their arrival. 'It was really,' we are told, 'very imposing, to see so many richly-adorned elephants, with silver howdahs, in which sat the first men of the ancient Mogul empire, richly dressed, decked with jewels, and wearing a cashmir shawl, thrown like a toga over the right shoulder, bowing with great reverence to Lord Ellenborough, and touching their forehead with their right hand, thus saluting us with their salam.'

The following casual reference to the progress of the christian faith, will not be uninteresting to our readers, and awakens a desire to know something more of the history and character of the convert referred to. Our author is writing at Delhi.

'Here, on the following day, I witnessed a scene which is certainly very uncommon in India, namely, a religious discussion. A Brahmin, who had embraced the Christian religion, met with a Mahometan priest in the tent of one of our party. Both equally enthusiastic, and, penetrated with the truth of their belief, were solicitous to prove that theirs was the only true faith. Their conversation grew more and more animated; the Christian seemed superior to his opponent both in spirit and conversational powers, and was frequently so impressed with the truth of his words that he cast round a triumphant look, believing himself to be the victor: but the Mussulman would not admit the validity of his adversary's proofs; and their discussion might have degenerated into acrimony, had not the bystanders interfered. I much regretted my inability closely to follow this learned religious controversy.'—vol. ii., p. 7.

Captain Von Orlich contends strenuously against the notion of the British power having attained its full elevation in India. 'There are,' he informs us, 'everywhere indications of a further

development, founded on duration and stability,' and he proceeds to argue that the necessity of the case will compel us to make the Indus, or the chain of the Himalaya, the boundary of our empire. Thus it has ever been, that one wrong has led to and been pleaded in justification of another. The fears of the oppressor have excited to injustice, which, being met by reproaches or resistance, has been represented as needful for self defence, and prompted only by a considerate and sagacious policy. It would be well for the permanent interests of our country if a deep sense of the obliquity of our past policy in India, were to induce the uniform resistance of every temptation to extend our empire, which the course of events may furnish. The consolidation and improvement of that which we have, furnish ample employment for the utmost energy and skill. We have already done far too much in the one direction, and have attempted but little in the other.

Returning from Delhi, by way of Agra, to Calcutta, our author sold his horses, tents, and other effects, and resolved to travel by palanquin. From the one city to the other, there is, he informs us, a road which may compete with the best in Europe, so that it would be easy to establish another and more speedy mode of journeying. The habits of the natives, however, are averse to change, and the English are as yet compelled to content themselves with this slow mode of transit. Referring to his journey, our author tells us:—

'On these dawk roads, are small houses (dawk bungalows) at intervals of every twenty miles, in which the traveller, for a rupee per day, finds accommodation and attendance, and may refresh himself with a bath; but some necessaries, such as tea, sugar, wine, and bread, he must take with him in his palanquin. As there are no inns whatever, the traveller in India is compelled to have recourse to the hospitality of the English, which, in truth, cannot have been exercised to a greater extent in the earliest times of our ancestors than it is here in the present day. Every where, even without letters of recommendation, you find the most hearty welcome, and the most hospitable reception. The longer the guest is pleased to remain, the greater is the satisfaction which he gives to his host. Yet I have often thought, however unwillingly it might be owned, that it must be a great burden upon those who are particularly noted for their hospitality.

'I had engaged eight bearers to carry my palanquin, and six for the doolee of my attendant Werner. Besides these, I had four Banghybördars (men who are each obliged to carry forty-pound weight, in small wooden or tin boxes, called Petaros, with the help of a long bamboo cane, resting on the shoulder,) and two Massalchies or torch-bearers. For my journey to Agra, 137 miles, I had to pay 140 rupees, which is equal to the expense of travelling post with six horses in our country.

'On the 15th, at three o'clock in the afternoon, I left our camp, attended with the good wishes and blessings of all my friends. There are two roads to Agra; the shortest, which is the worst, by way of Mathura, and the better one by way of Alighur. I, of course, chose the latter: my bearers carried me at a rapid pace, through the Cashmire gate, and past the palace, immediately behind which a bridge of boats, which is taken up in the rainy season, is laid across the Jumna. After crossing this bridge, we proceeded a full mile, when we reached a road bordered with trees. This road is made of Cancar, a compost of gravel, loam, and clay, which is found in most parts of India, from three to four feet below the surface of the ground; it gradually becomes hard, and is the best material that can be employed for this purpose. From Agra to Delhi there are twelve stages, the longest fourteen, the shortest ten miles. An express acquaints the post-masters beforehand of the approach of travellers, so that the new bearers are always found ready. I was, however, advised not to give any gratuity when the palanquin was set down to change the bearers: this is said to be the best means of preventing a delay; for if any such occurs, the traveller must pay the bearers at all the following stages for their lost time.

'The country between Delhi and Agra is perfectly level, and for the most part cultivated: at this time the sight of luxuriant fields of wheat and barley, was very refreshing to the eye, and an unclouded sky with bright moonlight favoured my journey. When we met with any travellers we saluted each other, calling out *Ram, ram!* and whenever we approached a new stage all the bearers set up a shrill cry to announce that they were coming. After the usual salutations, and a few questions, the bearers, panting and blowing, proceeded rapidly: the torch-bearer runs by the side, occasionally feeding his cotton torch with oil, which he carries with him in a wooden bottle, or a bamboo cane, and the oldest of this indefatigable crew, on taking leave, adds a petition for money; '*Sahib, bakshich*' (sir, a present, a gift), is the petition reiterated at every stage.' — *ib.* pp. 38—41.

The history and practices of the Thugs, have recently engaged much attention. The reports which first reached us respecting them, were regarded with incredulity, but they have been fully authenticated by subsequent inquiries. The proceedings of this diabolical sect, which perpetrates the grossest atrocities under the forms, and with the assumed sanction of religion, constitute one of the darkest and most revolting chapters in the history of the human race. Our author gives a condensed account of their organization, the rites with which the aspirant is admitted to their fraternity, and the mode in which their crimes are effected. Happily for the interests of humanity, they have at length engaged the attention of the government, and there is reason to believe that their day of slaughter is past. The criminal statistics of India, however, furnish a more favourable view of the people

than might have been anticipated, though it must be borne in mind, that, from the circumstances of the case, the effectiveness of the police can bear no proportion to that of Europe. This consideration should be remembered in reading the following summary :—

‘In the presidency of Bengal, the population of which is forty millions, the number of persons sentenced to death was 38 in the year 1838, 25 in 1839, and 27 in 1840, exclusively of the Thugs; whereas in England, during the same years, the numbers were 116, 56, and 57. In the same years, 81, 72, and 103 criminals were sentenced, in Bengal, to transportation or imprisonment for life; and in England, the numbers who suffered the same punishment were 266, 205, and 238. The number of persons condemned in 1837, including offences against the police, amounted to 38,902, which makes 1 to 1028 of the population; and in the year 1840, in which 42,785 were sentenced, 1 out of every 935 souls.

‘In the presidency of Madras, the population of which is 13,050,000, there was in the first half of the year 1839, 1 criminal to 609 souls; and in the latter half, 1 to 633, of whom 21 were sentenced to death; while in England and Wales, 56 persons were condemned to death: in 1840, 20,622 were found guilty in this presidency, of whom 31 were condemned to death, and 69 to transportation; in England and Wales 27,187 were sentenced, of whom 77 were punished with death, and 238 to transportation.

‘In the presidency of Bombay, which contains 6,300,000 inhabitants, in two years and a half, from the 1st of January, 1838, to the 1st of July, 1840, 15 on an average were annually sentenced to death, 45 to transportation, and 7 to imprisonment for life. The total amount of all crimes and misdemeanours, including those under cognisance of the police, was 91,999 in the space of four years in this presidency, making nearly 23,000 in a year, or one criminal to every 273 souls’—*ib.* pp. 164, 165.

The extracts we have given will sufficiently acquaint our readers with the style of Captain Von Orlich's volumes, and the character of their contents. Though primarily designed for his own countrymen, they cannot fail to interest the English reader, whom they will amply repay for the labour of an attentive perusal. For a lively and graphic sketch of Indian life, a picturesque description of the persons, customs, and manners of its princes and rulers, together with a truthful delineation of the style of intercourse between them and their British conquerors, they possess merits which have been rarely surpassed. The work, moreover, abounds in wood-cuts illustrative of the customs and habits of the people.

Art. III.—*Hans Sachs, ernstliche Trauerspiele, liebliche Schauspiele, seltsame Fastnachtspiele, kurzweilige Gespräch, sehnliche Klagreden, wunderbarliche Fabeln, sammt andern lächerlichen Schwänken und Possen, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von J. G. Büsching.* (Hans Sachs's serious Tragedies, delightful Dramas, wonderful Shrove-tide Farces, merry Discourses, pathetic funeral Orations, wonderful Fables, together with other amusing Tales and Farces. Carefully revised and edited by J. G. Büsching.) Three vols 8vo. Nürnberg.

SATIRE is one of the departments of literature, in which the Germans have successfully distinguished themselves, and in which, no doubt, they would have become more perfect were it not that their political constitution offers the greatest obstacles to their attaining complete mastery over this branch of 'Belles Lettres.' Owing to this circumstance, there is a certain air of embarrassment and an excess of caution in some of the German satirical writings, which not unfrequently almost borders on servility, so as to cause to the reader a rather painful sensation. This cautious and embarrassed tone, this display of an evidently fettered mind, is the immediate result of the iron sway which is exercised over the press, and public opinion in general, by the many rulers of Germany.

What hurts the public spirit in Germany most,—what, in fact, contributes to weaken, if not to destroy its powers and energies, and creates that unnatural apathy, phlegm, and indifference so often perceptible in the German character, is, that remnant of popish and inquisitorial invention, the *censorship of the press*. The humiliation of submitting one's literary productions to the scrutiny of censors, who not seldom treat works of the deepest thought and inquiry as though they were the exercises of mere schoolboys, submitted for the inspection of their preceptors, is destructive and revolting in the extreme. How often are the terms 'admittatur,' 'toleratur,' and 'prohibetur,' misapplied?—The first permits the book to be read by all classes, the second permits it to be read by the learned only, and the third prohibits altogether its being published. How often have these terms deprived Germany, nay, the world, of works which would have proved an honour to the country that gave them birth, and might have been useful to mankind? Thoughts of a straight-forward and uncompromising character, which would prove the destruction of prejudices and abuses, and shine like lightning in the dark night of universal ignorance, appear to the censors unusual, yea, dangerous. They, therefore, strike them out, because it is the *safest thing they can do*, since they are answerable for every article which appears in print. Of course, it is need-

less to state, that no respectable man, or that no author of any dignity and honour (it matters very little whether a Menzel and others make an exception to this rule) would sell himself to so degrading a purpose, and that the whole band of censors, generally speaking, is composed of men who either cannot or will not pursue a more honourable line of life, or at all events of such as have made common cause with the government whose creatures they are, by whom they are well paid, and through whom likewise they expect to be raised to some more honourable public office.

How long all this nuisance may last, and what course the German government will have to pursue in the end, cannot be pointed out with any degree of certainty. But judging from appearances and from the changes that have lately begun to take place in Germany, in favour of mental freedom, we are inclined to think that this censorship is decidedly on the decline. The noble examples set by the liberal governments of Prussia, Würtemberg, Saxony, Baden-Baden, and other places, with regard to the freedom of the press, cannot fail to produce a favourable influence upon the other German powers. In speaking thus, we allude chiefly to Protestant Germany. Austria, justly termed the European China, Bavaria, and other Roman catholic parts of Germany, are not yet ripe for the blessing; so at least their ministers, both temporal and spiritual, say. But when will Roman catholic countries, generally speaking, be ripe for the emancipation of the mind? There is but one answer, viz., the moment they cease to be the slaves of Rome and of her priesthood, but not until then.

We have thus far designedly digressed, in order to point out the disadvantages under which German writings in general, and those of a satirical nature in particular, have been and still are produced. We now proceed to the details of the subject in question. But in so doing, we shall in the first place briefly allude to the earliest German satirical authors, and give such specimens as occasion may require to show their excellencies and beauty: and in the next place we shall confine ourselves chiefly to the more recent writers, and among them to such only as have gained a universal celebrity, and whose works have become the fashion of the day. Wherever we can do it with propriety, we shall point out the chief causes that gave rise to productions of particular eminence and merit.

The ancient Germans, besides their usual war songs and other poems, such as songs of praise, &c., which were generally composed in honour of their heroes, possessed satirical poems, in which they attacked all those whom they regarded as

destitute of courage and honesty. These satirical productions were termed 'Gesanglichter' and 'Mondlieder,' *i. e.*, moon-songs, a term derived probably from the season of the day at which they were sung or recited. The most ancient German satires of any eminence, however, are those which emanated from the 'Minnesängers,' or love-singers, and the 'Meistersängers,' or master-singers, who followed the former at a much later period, and who were not dissimilar to them.

It was customary in former days for the German emperors, like other powerful princes and barons, to keep in their retinue bards or minstrels, men whose duty it was to perform, in the presence of valiant knights and fair dames, either on the cithern or the harp, and to sing, or rather recite, their so-called 'Minnesang,' *i. e.* love songs. These bards were distinguished as men of genius and learning, and constituted a corporation of poets, forming a kind of German Troubadours, known in German history as the 'Zunft der Minnesänger.' They were the first, who, under the Suabian emperors, especially Conrad III. (1138), of the house of Hohenstauffen, besides in lyric poetry, made also an excellent and highly successful attempt in satirical composition, and who even at so early a period poignantly though laughingly attacked the pope and the clergy. The most distinguished among them were,—Hartmann von der Aue, Walter von der Vogelweide, Conrad von Würzburg, Wolfram von Eschenbach, Heinrich von Ofterdingen, Meister Heinrich Frauenlob, &c. To this period, among other excellent lyrical and ironical compositions, belongs 'Salomon und Markolf,' which is a kind of novel, and is full of beauty, genius, and caustic wit.

Among the satirical writers who followed these 'Minnesängers,' was a native of Würzburg, Master Hugo von Trimberg, whose chief production is the 'Renner,' *i. e.* the Runner, a work in which he handles rather roughly both clergy and laymen. Another equally powerful satirist belonging to the same period was Hammerlin, a native of Zürich, who it seems felt a particular calling to chastise the corrupted monks of that period, by exposing their vicious habits in a severe and spirited manner. But when he himself had unfortunately some time after fallen into the hands of the holy fathers of a Franciscan monastery at Lüzern, they in their turn scourged the unfortunate culprit, who, in all probability, expired under the lashes inflicted on him in their vaults in the year 1448.

Germany, generally speaking, during the middle ages, possessed a great number of excellent satirical writers, almost all of whom at a later period have been neglected, or been

totally forgotten. The priesthood, with its immorality, pharisaic hypocrisy, pride, and ignorance, as also the courts, courtiers, pedants, and women, afforded plenty of scope for the caustic wit of many superior and enlightened minds. The language of these writers, it is true, is not unfrequently uncouth, nay, even rude; but this fault, which was peculiar to the age in which they lived, was owing to the liberty then enjoyed. Freedom and rudeness, have been at all times, cousins-german, only with this difference, that obscenity in former times was considered as wit by the generality of people, whereas, in more modern times, it is characteristic of the lowest and least cultivated classes of society. In the days we are speaking of, emperors and princes, nay, even prelates and the heads of churches, did not consider it beneath their dignity to make tom-fools of themselves, and to salute or address each other in terms at once the most foolish and gross. This became still worse previous to and about the time of the Reformation, when not only slothful and immoral characters, especially the priests, were unmercifully scourged by means of the coarsest, yet biting lampoons; but when the pope himself, and the 'Tiara,' became the butt of every kind of wit. What emperors, kings, and popes were unable to do, viz., to abolish the most atrocious and flagrant vices of a monkish rabble, because the whole nation—poor misguided victims—clung to it: all this was achieved by laughing satires. Hence Leo X., who was well aware of their effects, referring to Erasmus, feelingly said:—'Erasmus nobis plus nocuit *jocando*, quam Lutherus *stomachando*.' But the best of the joke was, that the stupid and ignorant monks believed for a long time the 'Epistolæ clarorum virorum,' and many other admirable satires, to have been written in their favour, and even purchased scores of copies in order to present them to their superiors.

Of all such writings produced during the middle ages, the highest rank is due to 'Rynke de Voss,' *i. e.* Reynard the Fox, which is justly considered the *chef d'œuvre* of ancient German political satires. Having recently devoted considerable space to an English version of this remarkable production, we shall not dwell upon it here as we should otherwise have certainly done. We may, however, observe, that there is a most excellent and meritorious continuation of this poem, written by Renner, under the assumed name of Sparre. This continuation is entitled 'Hennynk de Han,' *i. e.* Hennynk the Cock, and is well worthy of a careful perusal.

Another humorous satire, or satirical novel of great repute, belonging to this period, is 'Till (or Tyl) Eulenspiegel,' or 'Tyell Howleglass's Merry Jestes,' (as the ancient English translation

of it is entitled). This book so universally admired—though, now and then, it is perhaps a little too free—is less the result of serious reflection and observation, than of a powerful mind and a natural flow of spirits; and contains an inexhaustible fund of humour, fun, and somewhat untutored wit, which, however, very frequently assumes the air of genuine and sparkling facetiousness. The real value of this work becomes enhanced the more, inasmuch as every rank and profession in real life is represented, with wonderful truthfulness and precision; each character, being described with rustic simplicity and great spirit. The following specimen, headed, ‘HOW HOWLEGLASS TOOK UPON HIMSELF THE BUSINESS OF A SPECTACLE MAKER,’ borrowed from Mr. Roscoe’s work, entitled, ‘German Novelists, Tales, &c.,’ will show that we have not given the author greater credit than his production merits.

‘It happened that the electors were one day at variance in their choice of an Emperor of Rome, and the Count of Supplemberg was finally elected. But there were others who wished to elect themselves by force of arms; and it was requisite for the newly chosen potentate to station himself, during three weeks, before the town of Frankfort, waiting the attack of any who chose to encounter him. Owing to this, a vast concourse of people had assembled; hearing of which, Howleglass said:—‘There will be a grand assemblage of lords and great people, who will surely give me something; were it only a silver medal, and most certainly I will go.’ So when he arrived near Frankfort, he there found the Bishop of Treves, who observing him so oddly habited, inquired who he might be?

‘Howleglass replied, ‘Sir, I am a maker of spectacles; I am coming now from Brabant, but I can no where find any custom; our trade is become worth nothing.’ ‘I should think, on the contrary,’ said the bishop, ‘that your business ought to go on daily improving; for, truly men grow more weak-sighted every day. Therefore they ought to apply to you for spectacles.’ Howleglass replied, ‘My much honoured lord, you say very true; but one thing hurts our trade, which I would mention, were I not afraid of offending you.’ The bishop replied, ‘Say it boldly, man, and fear nothing; we are pretty well accustomed to hear such men as you.’ Then Howleglass said, ‘My reverend lord, what most hurts our trade is the apprehension that in future it will be good for nothing. And for this reason, that we observe you and other great lords, along with popes, cardinals, bishops, emperors, kings, dukes, justices, and governors of all lands—all of whom God amend—have got a trick of looking through their fingers (instead of spectacles), and hiding their eyes from the sight of justice, except she come arrayed in gold and precious stuff.

‘Formerly great men used to study the laws, in order to learn to whom to administer justice and do right. At that period they wore spectacles, and our business flourished. Priests, too, studied more

than now, and spectacles indeed were in great request. At present they read their lessons by heart; and never open a book for weeks together. This fault is so frequent throughout the country, that even the peasants themselves study through their fingers.' Now the bishop could read this text without any glass; so he said to Howleglass, 'Follow me to Frankfort; I will give you my arms and livery;' and Howleglass remained with him until the emperor was inaugurated, and afterwards returned into the land of Saxony.'

Not less amusing and as great a favourite, is the 'Narrenschiff,' i.e. The Ship of fools, a satire, written in rhyme, which has been translated into many foreign languages. It is the composition of Brandt (1453—1520), formerly a professor of law in the university of Strasburg, and also town-clerk of that city. This Ship of Fools, on which Lectures were delivered by the greatest men of those days, is certainly a splendid production, and one which would have done honour to any age and country. The celebrated Geiler (1445—1510), a 'Pietist' preacher, did not disdain to deliver sermons on themes taken from it. Every sermon bore the inscription, 'Stultorum numerus est infinitus,' and, in his views, he went farther than even Brandt himself, who enumerates one hundred and thirteen kinds of fools only, at the head of whom he places himself as one of the class he designates the 'Büchernarren,' or, book-fools. Brandt well knew that a mirror of fools would safely and more easily bring every individual of that peculiar class to a better self-knowledge, to an infallible 'Nosce te ipsum,' especially by showing to him in a true light the class, of which he constitutes a member. This, the pious Geiler, seems to have considered as being true, and as being well worthy of an experiment. To it, therefore, we are indebted for a collection of excellent sermons, known under the title of 'Das Schiff des Heils,' or, the ship of salvation. These discourses are distinguished for a sincere, though perhaps *mystic* piety and learning, and discover a vein of excellent and brilliant humour.

The best, and most correct, but scarce edition of Brandt's 'Narrenschiff,' is that of 1494; all the modern editions are less free from errors.

The noble-minded Hutten, a man full of zeal for art and science, and one of the greatest supporters of the Reformation, was another satirical writer of eminence. A sojourn at Rome, had produced upon his mind an effect, similar to that which it had upon Luther. To it we owe his 'Vatiscus' and 'Pasquillus exul,' both of which were directed against Rome. Among his other satires deserve to be mentioned 'Aula,' 'Febris,' 'Inspicientes,' 'Fortuna,' and 'Triumphus Capnionis,' some of which either preceded or succeeded those already mentioned. Frösch-

lein, or Frischlin, is another satirical writer of this period. The game this clever author was particularly fond of hawking at, were either the *sacrosancti*, or the landed nobility. Against the former he wrote his 'Facetiæ,' a work full of *vis comica*, although its tone is rather unchaste, and against the latter he produced the satire entitled, 'Vita Rustica,' a work which contains many highly witty passages. 'Pharma,' 'Priscianus Vapulans,' and similar other productions, are written more in the form of satirical comedies, and are still favourites with the reading world of Germany. Bebel, an admirable Latin scholar, and superior poet, besides many other satires, wrote his famous 'Triumphus Veneris,' a poem, which is divided into six Cantos, and in which the author collects under the standard of Venus, all ranks and classes of society, and excepts neither popes, monks, nor even nuns. This *exposé*, like all the preceding, is crushing, and must have contributed very much to eradicate the then existing social evils. 'The Narrenbeschwörung, Schelmenzunft und Gauchmette,' written by Murner, a Franciscan monk, of Strasburg, was another great favourite of the age we are speaking of. Folly, roguery, vices of all sorts and conditions, are the butt of the clever author's wit. This production, well illustrated by Waldau, was published in Halle, 1788. 'Der Froschmäusler,' by George Rollenhagen, who lived between the years of 1542 and 1609, as also 'Der Spiegel des Regiments,' by Morsheim, and 'Der Barfüssermönche Eulenspiegel und Alkoran,' by Alberi, either satirize in allegories, or in plain and unsophisticated language. Politics, the abuses of religion, philosophy, and manners, are the chief matter of these satires, which afford much more amusement and instruction than many similar recent productions. It seems, indeed, as though the wits of those days by far surpassed our modern ones in portraying and scourging human vices and follies. Hence the immense success which attended their creations.

One of the chief ancient German satirical writers, is Johann Fischart, sometimes called Menzer, (1550—1610). This author, who is not unjustly styled, the German Aristophanes, sometimes discovers an almost boundless vein of humour, and although his language is now and then a little too harsh, which is no doubt owing to the too great liberties he takes in forming the drollest, most extravagant, and lengthened compounds; moreover, though his puns very often show too great a freedom, which has been justly considered as one of the sins of his day, yet his humorous ideas, his pointed wit and pungent satire, observable more or less in all his works, make up for these defects. His 'Gargantua,' written in imi-

tation of the style and satirical humour, of Rabelais, is an admirable production, and well deserves to be read. The 'Bienenkorb des heiligen Reich,' a severe attack upon the Romish church and the priesthood, is masterly throughout; and so are likewise his 'Aller Praktik Grossmutter,' 'Podagrammisch Trostbüchlein, and the 'Philosophisches Ehzbuchlein.' Inferior and less happy are the 'Glückhaftes Schiff von Zürich,' in rhymes, and the 'Flohhetze,' i.e., the flea-hunt. The immortal humourist, Jean Paul Richter, was one of Fischart's most enthusiastic admirers.

Hans Sachs (Lautydorfer), the chief of the Meistersängers (1494—1576), another distinguished humorous writer of that period, though, by profession, a shoemaker, has left a rich store of amusing and excellent satirical poems. Carlyle, speaking of honest Hans, says: 'He is not without genius, and a shrewd irony; and, above all, the most gay, childlike, yet devout and solid character.' In another place, the same critic says: 'His best pun known to us,—and many are well worth perusing—is the 'Fastnachtsspiel' (Shrove-tide Farce) of the 'Narrenschneider,' where the doctor cures a bloated and lethargic patient by cutting out half-a-dozen fools from his interior!

There is hardly a department in the range of poetry, in which this ingenious shoemaker has not tried his skill, and in some, too, with signal success. His works, numerous and full of mirth and truth, consist of four hundred and twenty songs, twenty-eight comedies, many tragedies, one thousand seven hundred fables, seventy-three allegories, besides a host of sacred hymns. Those of our readers who may be desirous to know something more about this universal genius, are referred to the work placed at the head of this article, as also to Mr. Carlyle's 'Miscellanies.' The celebrated Wieland speaks of him in terms the most endearing and affectionate. A contemporary of Luther, Hans Sachs was one of his greatest supporters, and most enthusiastic admirers.

Moscherosch, properly Kalbsdorf, or Philander von Sittewald (1600—1669)—thus he styles himself in his works—is the satirist we next have to deal with. This learned man has left a book, entitled 'Die Visionen' (the visions), which claims our admiration, inasmuch as it is a production of great intrinsic worth. True it is partly an imitation of the Spaniard Quevedo's work, which bears the same title; but whilst the latter contains seven visions only, the former has double that number. Besides, Moscherosch's whole style is so highly moral and luminous, his seven additional visions, and the paraphrases of the original passages, are so elegant and refined, that the whole may justly be considered as an original produc-

tion. Every one of the fourteen visions is devoted to some particular theme or subject, such as hypocrisy, vanity, &c., of which those describing the 'Hofschule,' i.e., court-school, and the 'Soldatenleben,' or, the soldier's life, are by far the best. The whole work, even at the present moment, will be found to be superior to hundreds of modern novels, and similar other 'superfine' creations. This admirable writer was the greatest favourite of his day.—With the authors we next introduce to our readers, a new era begins in the history of German satirical literature. Here, therefore, let us rest awhile, and inquire into the causes that gave rise to the writings published during this period, and those following it.

If we closely examine the character of each of the satires then produced, we shall find that almost all of them are as unlike as can be to similar productions of other countries. One class, for instance, satirizes the silly, yet dangerous innovations, which at one time took place in the church and in the system of German theology, and thus endeavours to counteract their pernicious influences. Another class keeps a watchful eye on the corrupted system of philosophy, which about the same time was forced upon the Germans, and which, in consequence, threatened to destroy every atom of native philosophical inquiry, and moral principle. A third class deals with the abuses practised by a contemptible and imperfect system of policy, which at one period rendered the Germans a nation of slaves. A fourth class deals with the faults and weaknesses of the Germans in general; so that all the classes, too numerous to be mentioned in this place, have separate, and weighty subjects, on which they enlarge with admirable skill and point. We shall endeavour to point out, in as brief a manner as possible, the occasions that gave rise to them. What Luther aimed at, when he achieved the Reformation, was to break, by means of the power of a reasonable faith, the chains of an ignominious superstition, and a contemptible system of falsehood. Reason, so emancipated, was to counteract the machinations of Satan, and destroy the effects of false legends, and of similar other inventions of popery. But scarcely had men begun to shake off that degrading yoke, under which they had been labouring for centuries; and to indemnify themselves by the study of holy writ and of the ancients, for their long deprivation of mental food, when the spirit of destruction made its appearance in Germany, and raged with a fury, unparalleled in history, during a space of thirty years, known as the thirty years' war.

Throughout this period, Germany presented a sad, heart-rending aspect. Devastated and pillaged, with hardly a trace left of her former greatness and wealth, it resembled a country

newly conquered by a horde of savages. It had the appearance of a battle-field, inhabited by foreign invaders, who were amusing themselves at the expense of the lawful possessors of the land. With this foreign power were introduced foreign customs. The still existing remnant of the former inhabitants, now powerless and crushed, imitated the example of their oppressors. 'They dressed like Belgians,' says a celebrated German historian, 'ate like Swedes, boasted like Spaniards, swore like Hungarians and Turks, and intermixed in their language,—which was looked upon as the most fashionable and elegant,—as many outlandish scraps as possible.' Under these circumstances, the Germans, neglected, and open to every foreign influence, gave way to the overpowering spirit of French fashion, manners, and language, which at this time were introduced at the courts, and among the nobles, and thenceforth took possession of the whole of Germany. But not only the manners, even the language and the literature of the Germans were, partly beneficially, and partly banefully, influenced by it. Its beneficial influence extended so far, as to improve the then barbarous taste of the Germans, and to promote the study of the ancients, which at that time was zealously pursued in all the schools and institutions of France. But its effects proved pernicious, inasmuch as it led the Germans to imitate French models, without any discrimination whatever; so that the German national literature, especially poetry, philosophy, &c., became wholly *Frenchified*. In the study of the ancients, the Germans became almost entirely imitators of Dacier, Batteux, and other Frenchmen, without themselves possessing a thorough acquaintance with the writers, whom they now made their study. French frivolities, too, were introduced into Germany, and these indeed were at one time so great, and had so firm a hold on its inhabitants, that it was thought proper, and anything but unbecoming, to be devoid of all shame and sense of decorum.

Multitudes of works, without discrimination, were now translated from the French, and whilst native literature was as yet either in a state of infancy, or, if more advanced, in that of languishment and neglect, French literary productions unobstructedly took possession of the minds and sentiments of the people, and thus instilled their pernicious and immoral principles. This unnatural state of things ultimately reached a climax, when a salutary reaction commenced. Nor was it long ere this took place. With Gottsched, who was the last but staunchest advocate of everything French, all this had obtained its highest supremacy in Germany; but with him, likewise, or at least through his agency, began its downfall. It would lead us too far were we

to enter upon the minutiae of this event. For our purpose it may be sufficient to know that the first who dealt the death-blow to it, were the illustrious Lessing, (of whom anon) Brokes, Haller, and many others. An examination of the means used by them and other German patriots, for the eradication of the existing evils, will enable us to judge, and dispose us to admire, the skill and talents of those who were engaged in the praiseworthy enterprise.

A declared enemy of the prevailing hypocrisy, pedantry, and priestcraft, was the lawyer Thomasius, (1655—1728). A lucid intellect, an easy natural grace, and deep learning, as also correctness of style, were peculiar to this great man. In his hand irony and biting jest, were among the most powerful instruments for the eradication of immoralities. But he frequently exchanges irony for gravity, whenever the subject under consideration happens to be of an exalted or otherwise grave nature. A stranger to cringing and servility, he represents human follies just as they are, without compromise, and in a tone of admirable and virtuous indignation. On these occasions he often displays uncommon powers of eloquence. One of the many fine features of this great man, is, his dealing only with the faults and imperfections of individuals, and his utter disinclination to hurt their feelings and private character. Some of his simple fugitive puns have done more good to the cause of morality, than many would-be fine orations. But in his earlier days, Thomasius was also of immense service to the German literature. It was he, who, by his lecturing in the German language, when professor of law at Halle, set the first example to the teachers of all the German universities. The Latin tongue, which until then had been the language of the universities, was now abandoned, and the German was adopted in its place. He moreover, by the wit frequently instilled into his lectures, caused no slight good among his audience, which, besides lawyers, was generally composed of men of all ranks and classes of society, and of almost every profession, except the theologians, with whom he was on bad terms, for the reasons above specified.

Thomasius's satires, in more than one respect, may be justly compared to French salad, which generally contains three times more oil, and three times less vinegar, than that of all other nations. This author seems to have known that cupping, if used with skill and adroitness, does, in many instances at least, as much good as venesection. It is at all events, much more safe, a fact which was apparently well known to Horace, who very properly says,—

. Ridiculum ad
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.

The style and language of Thomasius, as also his philosophy and mode of arguing, are throughout as brilliant as they are convincing and conclusive. Similar to this author, and strenuously opposed to the immoralities of his age, was Ulrich Megerle, better known as father Abraham a Sancta Clara (1647—1709), who was a Suabian by birth, and a preacher at the Austrian court. One of the cleverest humorists of his day, this remarkable and amiable man, poured forth his moral instructions in a manner quite his own. With him exquisite metaphors, antitheses and sentences, were in as great abundance, as similes and little tales, all of which had their source in a pure and enlightened mind, and in a benevolent heart. His language, though often profuse of poetry, and luxuriating in facetious and elegant forms of oratory, never degenerates into bombast or into a mere flow of empty sounds. His corrections of errors, his advice, his description of a righteous life, as also of its future reward, are as full of charity and grace, as they are good-humoured, witty, and well-meant. Father Abraham has scarcely written a line, which does not contain instruction of an attractive and entertaining character. Few, indeed, are the passages in his numerous works, which do not abound in food and recreation for the human understanding. His tone throughout is manly, bold, and pointed. The works of this famous preacher are collected as sermons, some of which have the strangest titles, as, for example, 'Well filled Wine-cellar, wherein many a thirsty soul may be refreshed with a spiritual blessing of God;' or, 'Spiritual Warehouse, containing apostolic commodities,' or, finally, 'Gack! Gack, or the Journey of Man.' The famous character of the Capuchin monk, in the eighth scene of Schiller's admirable 'Wallenstein's Camp,' is said to be a faithful portrait of this extraordinary man. The admonition to Wallenstein's soldiers contained therein, is considered one of the finest imitations of monkish eloquence.

Among the satirical writers who were prominent in purging German literature from foreign literary rubbish, and who powerfully opposed the various political evils, at that time existing in Germany, was Liscow (1701—1760), who in consequence of his labours, must be looked upon as one of the benefactors of his country. A native of Wittenburg in Mecklenburg, Liscow, very early devoted himself to the study of philosophy and to the composition of satires. Settled at Dresden, he began to produce his most successful works; among others, his 'Gefrorne

Fensterscheibe,' 'Die Vortrefflichkeit elender Schribenten,' and the 'Satire on amateurs of natural curiosities.'

With an unquenchable thirst for knowledge, Liscow combined a strong love, we might say passion, for justice and liberty, owing to which, many abuses and political frauds which his countrymen, until then, had been subject to, were wholly eradicated. Although he knew full well that the time had not arrived, when national prejudices, or the follies and vices of the great could be attacked with impunity, yet this noble-minded man did not confine himself to the foibles of the uneducated and lower classes of society, but concentrated his powers in those matchless productions, which were directed exclusively against the oppressors of the people, and the would-be learned class. In consequence of this, Liscow became what is emphatically termed 'a friend of the people,' whose rights and liberties he thenceforth stoutly defended, and an enemy to oppression and the abuse of power. He had but one aim, viz., to disarm all those who were in any way ill disposed towards his countrymen, or who proved themselves their mental and bodily oppressors. Hence his satires could not but prove destructive to vice, and advantageous to the cause of virtue, although he himself, as will be seen presently, perished in the attempt. Herr Teufelsdröckh somewhere admirably says, that 'a thinking man is the worst enemy the prince of darkness can have; every time such an one announces himself, there runs a shudder through the nether empire, and new emissaries are trained, with new tactics, to, if possible, entrap him, and hoodwink and handcuff him.' We need say little more, but that Liscow, the plain-dealing, honest Liscow, the friend and advocate of the people, died in prison in a state of abject misery. *Requiescat in pace!* The famous Kant, who had a fine taste for true wit and humour, besides his love for Erasmus of Rotterdam, was very partial to Liscow's satirical writings. And Johann von Müller, the great historian, in one of his letters to the poet Gleim, says; 'that no German has been more humorous than Liscow, and that he is absolutely an original.'

A leaning towards talkativeness excepted, we are scarcely acquainted with any satirical writer who combines so much keen wit, philosophical genius, grace, natural flow of spirits, sarcastic humour, solid learning, and deep knowledge of the human mind, as this delightful and patriotic author. It seems as though the heart lay open before him, and as though he could read and interpret every feeling it contained. In his 'Vortrefflichkeit und Nothwendigkeit elender Schribenten,' he much resembles our own Smollet. In a style at once refined and excellent, he ridicules the pedantic enthusiasm of some

German schoolmen of that time, who in theory were the greatest world-improvers, whilst in practice they were completely out of their element, and as it were at sea. He, moreover, now and then depicts in the most lively colours the German caricature of French scepticism, and gives a lively and valuable picture of the customs of his day. Free from corruption, his works are dictated by a sincere love for truth, and, in consequence, spare neither the great nor the low-born. His description is highly finished, and his tone is such as leaves nothing to be desired; his irony, especially when directed against priestcraft, is cutting in the extreme. Hence, were his writings universally decried by churchmen, and in some places even prohibited.

The counterpart to this admirable writer was Rabener (1714—1771). Endowed with powerful satirical talents, possessing, moreover, a goodly share of sound learning, elegant taste, and acuteness of mind, this, otherwise amiable man, had neither the inclination nor the courage of Liscow, to improve the state of his countrymen. Confining himself too much to one class, he never could obtain a comprehensive and thorough view of actual life. Overlooking the faults of the great and high-born, he saw only those of the low, the mean, the ignorant; and, instead of applying the lash to both parties alike, he chastised those who needed no chastisement, but who only were in want of a kind and considerate friend and instructor. Men without any feeling of shame or remorse, full of presumption and arrogance, of vain-glory, and an unconquerable hatred towards the rights of the people, were beyond his reach. But woe to the humbler classes! Woe to the old maiden in the hoop petticoat, and high-heeled shoes! Woe to the poor country parson, the silly country squire, the proud simpleton, the poor schoolmaster, the poetaster, the coxcomb—*et hoc genus omne*! These were the people he liked to deal with; he was sure to make them the sport of his untimely wit. When reproaches met his ear, as being too one-sided and partial, Rabener had but one answer, viz., 'that it were a boldness to censure the faults of our superiors. The province of satire,' he would continue, 'is to chastise follies, and that, too, without malice; taking care, however, never to give vent to our wit or humour, whenever objects sanctified by long custom and ancient usages are concerned.' Acting on this principle, he, unlike Liscow, rarely dreamt of attacking or upbraiding the existing vicious and immoral German aristocracy, or the innumerable titled lordlings, who, reposing in perfumed saloons, within damask curtains, squandered the hard-earned means of a half-starved and wretched people. With Rabener, the decoration of any lordling had a

meaning, it had a language; but no such a thing had the tear dimmed eye of misery and wretchedness. And here, indeed, we find a most striking difference between the one-sided aristocratic Rabener, and the democratic Liscow, Börne, Heine, and many others. In the eyes of the latter, the rogue is a rogue,—no matter whether aristocratic or democratic,—and is treated as such. With them, the decoration on the breast of an individual, to speak with our favourite Herr Teufelsdröckh, is 'little less and little more than the broad button of Birmingham spelter in a clown's smock.'

To all these circumstances, as well as to the contemptible political system of that day, it is perhaps owing that Rabener's satirical humour could but partly display its powers;—at least publicly, since we have good reasons to believe, that his MSS., destroyed at the bombardment of Dresden, during the seven years' war, contained matter of a far different character from that which he as yet had published, but which, for reasons best known to himself, he withheld from the public. In as far as satirical form is concerned, it is unfolded to great advantage by this author. The sarcasm of Rabener, as must appear evident from this brief sketch, is not so much calculated to attack the human race, or even all his countrymen, as to deal with a certain portion only. The foibles and vices peculiar to this portion, he represents in all their nakedness and innate ugliness. He portrays with great powers of truth, and though he is frequently carried away by his benevolence, he is never blinded by it. His satires, if our simile be permitted, are cool yet powerful applications to the diseased parts of men. He very forcibly impresses on our minds the necessity and value of self-knowledge. Among his innumerable works, we only mention his 'Schwiftsche Testament,' 'Klim's Todtenliste,' and his 'Satirical Letters,' all of which being distinguished for breadth and spirit, will afford much amusing and excellent reading.

Zachariae (1726—1777) claims our attention and respect, not only as a powerful satirical writer, but also as one of the reformers of the former insipid German literature. There were at that time few men, who could exercise a healthy influence over the German mind, which was fast sinking beneath the contemptible instructions received from foreign men of learning. Zachariae happily succeeded, by means of his ironical poems, in discrediting the degenerate tone which was then prevalent. From the graphic description given in them, we are astonished at the dullness, coarseness, mean ignorance and pedantry which prevailed; and cannot help pitying those who must have felt the want of good and trustful leaders to direct them out of the

rugged path into which they had strayed. Hence, describing places where the coarsest ton was the fashion; and societies where gossipings, intrigues and scandal making were the most vital elements, it is not at all surprising that his writings should partake of a certain air of vulgarity. And if, moreover, we now and then discover traces of bombast and a silly stiffness, we must bear in mind that all these, combined with a corrupted French etiquette, were the sins of the day.

Zachariae's 'Schnupftuch,' 'Renomist,' 'Murrner in der Hölle,' and 'Phaeton,' written in the style of Pope's 'Rape of the Lock,' are distinguished for genuine humour, drollery and truth; and unlike many similar productions, are not so much calculated to excite risibility as to improve morals and to warn against error. Zachariae not unfrequently assumes a rather grave tone, and not seldom exaggerates in his delineations of character, in order (so it seems) to make his picture the more striking and interesting. Exaggeration, indeed, is one of the prerogatives of the satirical writer, since, without the aid of this powerful microscope, much would remain hidden from the view of short-sighted mortals. The interest we feel in whatever this author describes is enhanced by his dry but crushing sarcasm.

'There was one man among the reformers of Germany,' says the historian Schlosser, 'and, next to Goethe, unquestionably the greatest among them, who, although he did not, like Goethe, properly speaking, write for the great public, yet was eager to devote himself to the religious improvement of the people. This man could be no other than Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.' And Mr. Carlyle, speaking of the talents and powerful mind of this illustrious German, says: 'Among all the writers, of the eighteenth century, we will not except even Diderot and David Hume, there is not one of a more compact and rigid intellectual structure, who more distinctly knows what he is aiming at, or with more gracefulness, vigour, and precision sets it forth to his readers. He thinks with the clearness and piercing sharpness of the most expert logician; but a genial fire pervades him, a wit, a heartiness, a general richness and fineness of nature, to which most logicians are strangers.' A little further on, he continues: 'We confess we should be entirely at a loss for the literary creed of that man who reckoned Lessing other than a thoroughly cultivated writer; nay, entitled to rank, in this particular, with the most distinguished writers of any existing nation. As a poet, as a critic, philosopher, or controversialist, his style will be found precisely such as we of England are accustomed to admire most; brief, nervous, vivid; yet quiet without glitter or antithesis; idiomatic, pure without purism, transparent, yet full of character and reflex hues of meaning.' Horn,

a German author of celebrity, speaking of Lessing's genius and style, observes: 'Every sentence is like a phalanx; not a word wrong placed, not a word that could be spared; and it forms itself so calmly and lightly, and stands in its completeness, so gay, yet so impregnable!' It is, indeed, true that the noble-minded and philosophical Lessing (1729—1781) was one of the greatest intellects of his age. That man must have had a powerful mind, indeed, who by himself could oppose and triumphantly defeat a whole body of the most erudite polemical theologians Germany at that time boasted of! Lessing had as profound and exact a knowledge of ancient as of modern literature, and was as acquainted with the Fathers as with the heathen and modern philosophers. In fact, he was acquainted with the branches of almost every art and science!

The greatest antagonist of every thing French, he dealt the death blow to the prevailing taste in favour of all that belonged to France, especially in matters regarding literature. He ruthlessly attacked everything bordering in any way on the unnatural or on mannerism. Clearing the German ground of its foreign poisonous weeds, and freeing it from its accumulated rubbish, he incessantly laboured to introduce the healthful spirit of the Greek, Roman, and English literature. Ancient customs and coarse habits soon gave way to a better system and improved state of learning. Lessing, indeed, was among the first, if not THE first, who taught the Germans to think and write logically, nay, he himself set them an example in numberless admirable productions, in almost every department of human knowledge. This, however, is not the proper place to discuss so mighty a subject, to revise the character of this extraordinary man, who, as Menzel says, 'combined in himself the study and culture of all the schools of his age,' or to estimate the incalculable benefits conferred by him on his country. We may, sometime or other, recur to this interesting matter; at present we confine ourselves to a few remarks, respecting Lessing's style and language as a satirical writer.

With the exception of some controversial articles in prose, written in a style of the highest eloquence and bitter irony, and directed against single individuals, he has chiefly—we might almost say, exclusively—confined himself to fables and epigrams. His fables, written in prose and poetry, as also his epigrams, were chiefly distinguished for power, purity of language and elegance, as well as for pointed wit, delicacy and nobleness of feeling, and were considered the finest and most perfect specimens of the kind existing. Every trifle from the pen of this master contains within itself the marks of true genius; and of the playfulness with which he gave birth to

all his most exquisite works. With him, every thing is in perfect keeping and harmony with decorum and good taste. The reader is never offended by expression or subject; on the contrary, he feels that the whole is the produce of a mind totally unacquainted with immorality and servility. Indeed, the first and last impulse of this author seems to be to act the part of a moral and free, or independent being. Hence that freedom which we discover in all his writings; hence the lovely garb or form of morality which every line wears, and which is truly refreshing to the heart and cultivated understanding; and hence, also, the wonderful and beneficial effect he produced upon the minds of all classes of readers. What Madame de Staël has said concerning Schiller, viz., that, '*Ses écrits sont lui,*' might with equal truth be applied to this inimitable writer.

The following is an extract from one of his 'Controversial satirical writings,' generally known under the title of the '*Eleven Anti-Götzes,*' i.e., replies to attacks made upon him by a clergyman named Götze. Each of these replies bears the inscription, '*Anti-Götze,*' and is distinguished from the rest by a number contained on the first page. The extract we give is from No. 5, and has been borrowed from Schlosser's History of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

'O happy time! when the clergy were all in all,—thought for us, and ate for us! How willingly would the chief pastor have brought you back again in triumph! How eagerly does he desire that all the rulers of Germany would unite with him in his salutary views! He preaches sweet and sour, sets heaven and hell before them! If they will not hear, they may feel! Wit and the language of the country are the dunghills in which the weeds of rebellion sprout up so readily and so quick. To-day a poet, to-morrow a regicide; Clement, Ravallac, were not formed in the confessionals, but upon Parnassus. I shall return, however, to common-places of the chief pastor upon another occasion; at present, if it is not clear enough already, I shall only make it perfectly clear, that Mr. pastor Götze does not grant what he appears to grant, and that these are the mere claws, which it provokes the tiger so much only to be able to strike into the wooden railing.'

These fugitive pieces against Götze, and a letter, written by the celebrated Lichtenberg are the most perfect specimens of satire and annihilating language the German literature possesses.

Art. IV.—*The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament; being an attempt at a verbal connection between the Original and the English Translation. With Indexes and a List of the Proper Names and their Occurrences, &c.* Two volumes, imp. 8vo. pp. 1682 and 82. London: Longmans and Co. 1843.

WE are debtors to two parties in reference to this concordance: to the editors whose praiseworthy diligence was entitled to more prompt acknowledgement; to the public,—or, at least, that small portion of the public which takes a real and hearty interest in biblical studies,—whose advantage we should have better consulted, as we would have done had it been practicable, by an earlier notice. The present work is prepared in the same method with that of the Englishman's Greek Concordance, which was reviewed in a former volume of this Journal, and offers the same facilities and aids for the study of the Old Testament which that does for the study of the New. For persons who are acquainted with the Greek concordance, and especially those who are as familiar with it as Horace would have the Pisos be with the great masters of antiquity—*versate nocturna manu versate diurna*—this will be commendation and recommendation enough. For the sake of others, however, we must be a little more explicit; since they will naturally look for a detailed description of the work, and expect us to confirm our judgment of it by some illustrative instances. This, therefore, we proceed to do.

We shall first, then, attempt to give an idea of the contents and form of the work. These are described in the following extract from the introduction:—

'Part I. contains, in alphabetical succession, all the appellatives in the Hebrew and Chaldee Bible. Immediately after each Hebrew or Chaldee word follows the series of *passages* in which it occurs: with the quotations in the language of the authorized English translation, and in its order of books. *Italic* letters mark the word or words in English which correspond to the Hebrew or Chaldee word. The citations are sufficiently full, to enable any one moderately acquainted with the English Old Testament to recall the context.

'Part II. is an Index, showing, under each Hebrew and Chaldee word, the variations of the English translation.

'Part III. is an Index, to enable the English reader to turn any English word [which occurs in the authorized version] into that which corresponds with it in Hebrew.

'Then follow a few Indexes of inferior importance.'

These indexes, of inferior importance, are:—A list of the Hebrew and Chaldee proper names, together with their occurrences, (being the first complete list ever published in any con-

cordance); an index to the same; and, a table of the variations of the chapters and verses in the Hebrew and English bibles.

We attach to this description a few illustrative specimens, taken almost at random under each head. The first is from Part I. containing the appellatives with all their occurrences. We extract a short instance which shews the classification of the forms of verbs. The large asterisks are used merely to catch the eye.

- “ *בָּרַר* [*bah-rar'*]
 * KAL. *Preterite.**
 Eze. xx. 38. *And I will purge out from*
 KAL. *Infinitive.*
 Ecc. iii. 18. *that God might manifest them,*
 (Margin of, *that they might clear God.*)
 KAL. *Participle.* Paul.
 1 Ch. vii. 7. *choice* (and) mighty men of valour,
 ix. 22. *chosen* to be porters in the gates
 xvi. 41. the rest *that were chosen*,
 Neh. v. 18. one ox (and) six *choice* sheep;
 Job xxxiii. 3. my lips shall utter knowledge *clearly*.
 Isa. xlix. 2. make me a *polished* shaft,
 Zep. iii. 9. turn to the people a *pure* language,
 * NIPHAL. *Imperative.**
 Isa. lii. 11. *be ye clean*, that bear the vessels
 NIPHAL. *Participle.*
 2 Sa. xxii. 27. With *the pure* wilt thou shew thyself
 Ps. xviii. 26 (27) With *the pure* thou wilt shew thyself
 * PIEL. *Infinitive.**
 Dan. xi. 35. to try them, *and to purge*,
 * HIPHIL. *Infinitive.**
 Jer. iv. 11. not to fan, nor *to cleanse*,
 HIPHIL. *Imperative.*
 Jer. li. 11. *Make bright* the arrows; (marg. *pure*)
 * HITHPAEL. *Future.**
 2 Sa. xxii. 27. *thou wilt show thyself pure*;
 Ps. xviii. 26 (27). the pure *thou wilt shew thyself pure*;
 Dan. xii. 10. many *shall be purified*.'

It will be seen from the preceding extract, that the different existing species of every verb, in all their moods and tenses, are carefully distinguished. We may, perhaps, notice this again. The same important distinction also pervades the other parts of the work, as the succeeding extracts will shew. Our next brief extract (we are studious of brevity, but at the same time anxious to do justice to the very elaborate compilation before us) is from Part II.—the Hebrew and English Index. It presents in one view all the terms by which the verb *בָּרַר* in all its extant species

and their respective modes, tenses, and participles is represented in our English version. For economy of space we have thrown into paragraphs what in the index itself is given in the clearer form of a list in downward succession.

‘*קָרַע* - - - - - pa. 274.

Kal. blessed, to kneel, to kneel down, to salute, still.

Niphal. to be blessed.

Piel. abundantly, altogether, at all, to blaspheme, to bless, to congratulate, to curse, greatly, indeed, to praise, to be praised, to salute, to thank.*

Pual. to be blessed.

Hiphil. to make to kneel down.

Hithpael. to bless [one] self, to be blessed.’

Our next examples from the English and Hebrew Index will serve to show how many Hebrew terms are represented by a single English word. We select two specimens that we may exemplify it in reference both to nouns and verbs. The page numerals, which follow each Hebrew word, show where it is to found in the body of the concordance.

‘to abhor. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 208. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 313. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 382. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 391. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 659. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 782. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 782. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 782. *קָדַשׁ* Kal, 1104. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 1325. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 1333. *קָדַשׁ* Piel, 1353. *Part III. p. 1459.*

Folly, *אֲחֵלָה*, 30. *אֲחֵלָה*, 609. *אֲחֵלָה*, 609. *אֲחֵלָה*, 787. *אֲחֵלָה*, 876. *אֲחֵלָה*, 876. *אֲחֵלָה*, 1207. *אֲחֵלָה*, 1337. *אֲחֵלָה*, 1335. *Part III. p. 1534.*

These, however, are but moderate specimens of the variety of the Hebrew and Chaldee terms by which our English vocables are represented. ‘To be afraid’ is represented by twenty-two different words; ‘to appoint,’ by twenty-four; ‘to break,’ by thirty-three; ‘to bring,’ by thirty-nine; ‘to destroy,’ by forty-nine; and so on. Of the nouns, too, ‘branch’ is represented by twenty different words; ‘body,’ by twelve; ‘child,’ by twelve; ‘dwelling,’ by eleven; ‘fear,’ by sixteen, &c. &c. It is not

* Not to obstruct or load the text of the article with remarks irrelevant to its immediate scope, we would observe here that the terms ‘abundantly,’ ‘altogether,’ ‘at all,’ ‘greatly,’ and ‘indeed,’ are words by which, in our English version, the force of the infinitive is expressed when another part of the verb, such as the future or imperative, is used with it. The closest intelligible rendering in all these cases would be that given in the authorized version of Gen. xxii. 17, ‘Blessing I will bless thee, for Thou hast blessed altogether,’ as noticed in the proper place in Part I. The occurrences of the two voices, ‘to praise’ and ‘to be praised,’ as renderings of one Hebrew species, is also explained in the proper place in Part I. by the gloss added to the passive rendering: daily *shall he be praised*,’ of (lit. *shall one bless him*.)

† Misprinted *אֲחֵלָה* in Part III. through the accidental dropping of the *ה*, but correct in its place in the concordance.

necessary to give any specimens from the list of proper names and their occurrences. The latter are given by reference merely, without any portion of the context.

In representing the uses of this concordance, it will be reasonable to consider it from the same point of view from which its editors probably regarded both their object and their work. This leads us to speak first of its serviceableness to the mere English scholar, who may, notwithstanding his ignorance of Hebrew or Chaldee, desire to know to what extent the translation of the Old Testament in common use is a true reflection of the original. In admitting that it may render this service to some extent, we must not, however, be understood to imply that we consider it possible to put a person who has never studied Hebrew on any thing approaching the level of him who has. Such a one must always, whatever artificial aids he may possess, be satisfied with what others please to tell him respecting the correctness of particular renderings and the reasons for them. No insight which this concordance or any other help can enable him to take of the verbal correspondence of the original and translated texts, will necessarily qualify him to judge of the propriety of verbal derivations. To do this in difficult cases requires not only a knowledge of the respective vocables, with their primary and derived significations, but also of the laws of syntax; and still more must he possess that acumen, or rather, we should say, that practical judgment which successful linguistic studies and exercises supply. Still all cases are not difficult ones; and we consider that, in the volume now before us, something is done to enable the mere English reader to realize a much higher probability than he otherwise would, of the trustworthiness, or otherwise, of the authorized version in particular places.

How limited this service must necessarily be, however, to the mere English scholar, a single illustration will evince. We will suppose such a one to have heard in conversation, or to have read somewhere, perhaps in some so-called amended translation of the bible, that Job's wife did not urge Job to curse God, but to bless him, for that 'to bless' is the proper signification of בָּרַךְ , which never means, or can mean, any thing else—especially the direct contrary. We suppose this to have been said to, or read by, the mere English possessor of this concordance. He resolves to test the assertion, and turns—for we must suppose him to have mastered the Hebrew alphabet—to בָּרַךְ , which he has either been informed is the Hebrew word in question, or finds to be so from Part III. under the head 'to curse.' Turning to בָּרַךְ he discovers that, besides the signification which he has been told is the proper one, it is rendered 'salute' four times; 'kneel,' and 'kneel down,'

three times; 'make to kneel down,' once; 'thank,' once; 'congratulate,' once; 'praise,' twice; 'curse,' four times; 'blaspheme,' twice. He has now ascertained that the rendering 'curse,' adopted three times, is confirmed by two other passages, in which the same translators have been constrained to render blaspheme. The next thing he does, or can do, supposing him confined to this aid, is to examine the passages in the authorized version, to see if the context or evident scope of the writer throws any decisive light upon the import of any of them. By this process he ascertains that four of them, that is 1 Kings xxi. verses 10 and 13, the two places where קלל is rendered blaspheme, and Job i. verses 5 and 11, and ii. 5—the only places, besides Job ii. 9 (the one in question), where it is translated curse—absolutely *require* that whatever its ordinary or assumed proper meaning may be, it should be rendered in *malam partem*, as it is termed, that is, with a malevolent expression.

This reference to the concordance will then have been so far of use, as to show that the criticism on the authorized version was unsound. It may not absolutely decide the import of קלל in Job ii. 9, but it all but decides it; it shows, compared with Job i. 10, and ii. 5, that there is the highest probability in favour of the authorized rendering.

Still this is no more than any Hebrew lexicon would do which gave copious references. The mere English scholar, who had mastered the Hebrew alphabet, could assure himself as well by the references in the lexicon as those in the concordance, that קלל has a sinister import. As the concordance, therefore, would throw no light upon the genesis of such contradictory significations as 'bless' and 'curse' attaching to one word, as it could not account for the latter signification attaching to a word which is used three hundred and eight times, or thereabouts, in the sense of 'bless,' but would leave that fact an utter mystery to the mere English scholar, it is clear that the use of it, with regard to difficult or contested interpretations, is, to such a one, very limited. Its chief use would be to assist him to dispose of arguments founded upon the English version, but which the original did not sanction; and, as we have shown, sometimes to parry a false criticism. These, indeed, it must be owned, though humble, are important services.

Convinced, however, that this was by no means all the service that the work was intended by its most liberal proprietor and his diligent coadjutors to render, we should not have dwelt so long upon it, but for the title under which the work has appeared. The '*Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance*' is a title which seems to import that it was intended for the use of any mere English scholar, who would be at the pains of mastering

his Hebrew A. B. C. As that, moreover, is the *ultima thule* of multitudes in this country, where Hebrew literature has for a long time been the favourite district for planning and laying out 'royal roads,' we doubt not that it will be purchased by many under the impression of its design which we have noticed, and we are anxious—not to dissuade any from its purchase, that we would by no means do, but—to shew the mere Englishman exactly what benefit he might reasonably hope to derive from it. We are, however, still more anxious that those who would be able to turn the concordance to richer account, we mean those who are really studying Hebrew, should possess themselves of the aid which this concordance offers them, and shall therefore add a few words more respecting the use which they may make of it.

Let us return to קָנָה. The Hebrew student would not, perhaps, see from the article on that word the genesis of the different significations assigned it in the English version; but without such a synoptical survey of the instances of the word, it is all but certain that he would miss it. It has always been a problem to account for the signification *in malam partem*, 'blaspheme' and 'curse.' Gesenius observes in his lexicon, s.v. that the same root in Arabic and Ethiopic also signifies both 'benedixit' and 'maledixit;' but this merely states a parallel fact; it does not evolve the principle of that under consideration. However, he who studies the concordance with a grammatical eye will not overlook the noun קִנָּה, 'the knee,' from which it is clearly derived. This he will see not only establishes the primary signification, as given both by Winer and Gesenius, '*genua flexit*,' but will be able to trace the development and connection of its different significations. He will see the natural derivation from bending the knee to blessing, praising, congratulating, saluting, &c.; and he will, with all the examples of the word before him, be in the most favourable situation to weigh the suggestion of Schultens, which Winer approves, that from the signification of 'saluting' in connection with taking leave, which might be done in an adverse spirit, the malevolent senses found in 1 Kings xxi. 10, 13—Job i. 5, 10—ii. 5, might be derived; and to decide whether what Gesenius has said of the word having in it the idea of execration is of any force as against the solution of Schultens, or in itself clears up in any way the difficulty which scholars have found in accounting for the discordant meanings.

It is, however, in enabling the student to distinguish the different species of verbs and their respective imports with greater accuracy, and to discriminate between real and apparent synonyms, that the work is chiefly valuable. Having illustrated this

use of such concordances in our notice of the Englishman's Greek Concordance, we shall not renew the discussion of it in this article. Let any reader take the word $\pi\alpha$ or $\pi\alpha\iota$, and having first drawn out, which he may easily do, its different significations in English, let him find the various Hebrew words by which those English words are expressed, and he will see what we mean. We know no exercise better adapted than this, when conducted by one who has any measure of that tact which flows from grammatical experience, to enable the mind to realize the nicest shades of signification which words acquire in their different forms and connections, and thus, in reference to the scripture, to open the understanding to its most minute discoveries. Having used these concordances, with some diligence and pains, we know that the result is what we say. The benefit of having the examples all obviously under the eye at once, is to him who not tried it, inappreciable. And though that advantage is afforded by Buxtorf's or Fürst's, and with some advantages which need not be detailed here, to the really advanced student, yet these are more than compensated by the facility with which all comparisons and collations are carried on through the medium of the English text, in which the examples are here given. For economy of time in investigating and comparing verbal occurrences, and for clearness of impression, neither Buxtorf's nor Fürst's is for a moment to be compared with the concordance before us.

We must not close this notice without a few remarks upon the extraordinary correctness secured in this concordance, and the equally extraordinary pains which have been taken to secure it. In respect of accuracy, no former concordance comes near it. In Buxtorf's, printed in 1632, there are, besides 118 errors in the specifications of books, chapters and verses, and in the quotations of the first *eight* pages and two columns, 380 omissions, and 1,100 errata in α . In Marius's, edited by Romaine, in 1747, there are 145 omissions under α . In Taylor's, printed in 1754, though great pains were taken to point out and correct Buxtorf's errors, there are 250 omissions under the same letter. And 'excellent and well corrected as Fürst's is, seven corrigenda and ten omissions were discovered in the first eight pages.' We state these facts on the authority of the preface to the present work, but we do so with entire confidence. Of course the use of English for Hebrew in the citations was highly favorable to correctness. But this was by no means the chief cause of the unexampled accuracy of the work. The labour of years was expended in producing it. We were conscious, when reading Mr. Wigram's account of the process by which it had been secured, of a feeling similar to that we have experienced in

watching the complicated, but well arranged, machinery of a silk mill. Viewed with respect to the amount, variety, and minuteness of these processes, the book is really a 'curiosity of literature.' But it is not a mere curiosity. The pains and cost have been well laid out; and we can with confidence recommend the work as one of the most useful aids we ever met with in studying the sacred scriptures.

Art. V.—*The Catholic Claims. A Letter to the Lord Bishop of Cashel.*
By Baptist W. Noel, M.A. 2d Ed. 8vo. pp. 54. London:
Nisbet & Co.

It is matter of current report that the author of this letter was requested in the Central Anti-Maynooth Committee to accompany Sir Culling Smith to Dublin, and declined to do so unless liberty of speech on the Irish Protestant Church were conceded to him. Such liberty was refused, and Mr. Noel remained in England. We have been at some pains to ascertain the truth of this report, and see no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. One of our own number, in an evil hour, undertook the mission, and the manner in which it was discharged is now matter of history.

The report to which we advert had prepared us to receive from Mr. Noel some of the views expressed in this pamphlet, though we had certainly no expectation of meeting with them in the form in which they are here presented. His position as a clergyman of the English Church, combining sincere attachment to the establishment principle, with the many virtues which secure him the regard of all good men, precluded the probability of such an event. It required a more than ordinary strength of conviction, a rare superiority to the prejudices of his class, and a degree of moral courage with which few are endowed, to execute such a service. Many and weighty considerations must have urged him to forego it, which nothing short of the deep earnestness of religious principle could have surmounted. Few men are so constituted as to look beyond the circle within which the influences and prepossessions of their class operate, and still fewer are willing to make the sacrifices which are entailed by a practical following out of the convictions consequent on their doing so. Mr. Noel, however, has shewn himself to be one of this select and honourable class. We reverence the principle which has prompted, while we admire the spirit which pervades his publication. There is a courteous bearing and high-toned morality

in it which are thoroughly refreshing, an earnest advocacy of evangelical truth, combined with a no less earnest denunciation of injustice and oppression. The conclusions arrived at are not always based on the arguments we should employ and to which we attach the greatest weight; but there is a clear transparent honesty, a generosity and open-heartedness, an intelligent apprehension of the right, and a fearless assertion of it to the full extent of its perception, for which we honour the writer. Mr. Noel is no dissenter, and he does not, therefore, reason as such, but we know of no comparison between the integrity and high-mindedness of such a man who follows out his convictions, though to the apparent prejudice of his class, and the timid policy of some who, bearing the name of dissenters, shrink from a practical enforcement of their principles.

The appearance of a letter like this from such a man is a significant sign of the times. It is full of meaning, and may be taken as an earnest of much yet to come. Thoughtful men will ponder over it, many will read it again and again, and we are greatly mistaken if it will not give shape and embodiment to suspicions, dissatisfactions, and enquiries which are already afloat to a much greater extent than some dissenters imagine. The Church question is obviously becoming *the* question of the times. It is awakening deeper feelings, is engaging a greater number of minds, and is subordinating to itself a larger sphere of human thought and action than any other question amongst us. As yet this fact may not be, it is not, fully realized by our governors. In their blindness they see not the signs of the times. Looking only to the indifference or scepticism of the class immediately about them, or to the obvious secularity of the priesthood, whom they invest with wealth and honour, they smile derisively at the alleged force of pure religion, and ask, as in sheer contempt, where are the evidences of its power. In the meantime, it is gathering strength with unwonted speed. Thousands of intellects are employed upon it. The middle and lower classes are awakening to the simplicity and power of unpatronized christianity. Old prejudices are in the course of being cast off; light is breaking in upon the regions of darkness, and the quickened spirits of our countrymen are beginning to look about for some practicable mode of relieving themselves from oppression, and religion from disgrace, by compelling the civil governour to confine himself to his proper vocation.

In this state of things the appearance of Mr. Noel's letter cannot be without effect. It has arisen out of the actual condition of things, and is a shadow of coming events. 'Now that the Maynooth bill is carried,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'it is well for those who think the principle of that measure unsound, to

consider what course their duty prescribes to them for the future.'

This is just what we expected, and the expectation greatly moderated our sorrow at the course pursued by the legislature. We were behind none of our contemporaries in condemning the unscrupulous policy of her Majesty's ministers, and the ready zeal with which the Whig and Radical sections of both Houses lent themselves to their assistance. The obnoxious measure protested against by an unprecedented number of petitioners, has however passed into a law. The Lords emulated the zeal of the Commons, and we have waited to see what would be the influence on the public mind, of their joint success. Our expectations have not been disappointed. Deep convictions and great principles are being evolved from the chaos we have witnessed. The old theory of the paternal character of governments, and in consequence, their obligation to provide for the religious instruction of their subjects, has been abandoned. Men see its fallacy, and even churchmen who have long relied upon it, feel and acknowledge that it is no longer applicable to the existing case. The aspect of the whole question is changed, and the advocates of establishments are mortified with the necessity under which they obviously labour, of taking up new ground. In this state of affairs it is no marvel that many minds should, at least, approach to the perception of the truth. It was all well while state patronage was exclusively theirs; while it sustained what they deemed truth, and was refused to that which they deemed error. In this case they viewed it with complacency, and believed it to be conducive to the moral and religious welfare of the nation. This was their honest conviction, erroneous, of course, in our judgment, yet not an unnatural offshoot of their general theory. But the case is altered now. Religious error, equally with religious truth, is held to be a proper object of state patronage, and the question submitted for the decision of religious churchmen, is, whether the tenour of their christian discipleship permits them to acquiesce in such a copartnership; whether it becomes them to continue to receive state pay, on condition of allowing the advocates of what they deem destructive error to do the same, or whether it is not incumbent on them to prefer the alternative of calling on the state to leave religion alone, rather than to give artificial life and perpetuity to error, by the endowment of its priests. We anticipated that something of this sort would issue from the Maynooth Endowment Act, and the pamphlet before us supplies evidence that such is the case.

'If,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'the present state of opinion renders it impossible to maintain the ministers of one christian denomination ex-

clusively, because other denominations esteem this to be unjust, then the state may, without breach of christian principle, cease to maintain them, as in the United States; but to maintain the teachers of superstition or of infidelity together with those who preach the gospel, is to despise the gospel and to degrade its ministers. If this is to be henceforth the dominant principle of legislation on religious subjects, every christian ought to use his utmost efforts to rescue all religious questions from the hands of our legislators. If parliament cannot legislate in favour of true religion, they are bound not to legislate against it; if they think it imprudent to support the truth alone, let them leave both truth and error unsupported: if protestantism can only be cherished at the cost of patronising Romanism, let both be left to themselves.'—p. 28.

These are emphatic words, which indicate the progress now being made in the right direction by an influential section of our countrymen. Our reasonings have failed to convince them, a thousand prepossessions have been arrayed against our arguments and appeals; few of our opponents have permitted themselves fairly to investigate our views, and still fewer have been ready to follow out, with the simplicity of truth, the enquiries and partial convictions which have been awakened in their breasts. But the procedure of the legislature, the policy of their own political chiefs, has forced on their attention the unsoundness of their system, and necessitated the enquiry, whether fidelity to a higher power does not require its practical and immediate relinquishment. The argument of Sir James Graham that, 'Whenever in matters of state, questions of religion arise, those questions must be decided on political, and not on theological grounds,' is tested by Mr. Noel in various forms, and in each of them proved to be unsound. The inferences fairly deduced from the logic of the home secretary sufficiently bespeak the fallacy which lurks in his reasoning.

'I believe,' remarks Mr. Noel, 'the principle to be, in every possible application of it, corrupt; but the application of it to the present question is peculiarly unfortunate. Having maintained twelve hundred protestant ministers in Ireland, that they may preach the gospel to the people, because it was right, ministers seem now disposed to educate and maintain two thousand priests to contradict them, because it is expedient. Two great theological armies being in the field, each bent on the rout and ruin of the other, they are henceforth to be both generously supplied with ammunition from the same arsenal. The protestant minister of the parish is to be paid for teaching his parishioners evangelical doctrine, and the parish priest is to be paid for teaching them just the reverse. The protestant minister will receive his income that he may urge them to read and examine the scriptures for themselves, and the priest will have his

salary for forbidding them so to do, on pain of being refused absolution and of being excommunicated from the church. The minister, in return for his pay, must tell the people that the priest is keeping them in ignorance, and the priest must earn his income by retorting, that the minister is a heretic to whom it is dangerous to listen. That both these champions, engaged in mortal conflict, should be equally encouraged by the legislature would, under any circumstances, be perplexing to the people, but when they further reflect that this eternal war has been provided for by protestant majorities in both houses, what can they conclude, but that protestants disbelieve the doctrines which they profess, and think catholic doctrine as sound and as *useful as their own.*—pp. 25, 26.

So fairly is this case put, and so honestly does our author abide by the legitimate conclusion from his reasoning, that he avows his readiness to give up the Irish church, rather than admit the application of his theory contended for by Sir James. This is just as we expected, and Mr. Noel, we are assured, is not alone, even amongst the members of his own church, in the sentiment avowed in the following passage:—

‘This principle of paying all creeds is so irreligious, that no nation which is not generally irreligious can long endure it. On this account it seems probable that the maintenance of the Roman catholic priests would seal the doom of the three establishments in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Institutions are built on principles: and when the fundamental principle of an institution is generally abandoned, the institution itself must soon fall. Hitherto the establishments of the United Kingdom have been upheld chiefly by the idea that a christian legislature is bound to provide for the christian instruction of the whole people, but that idea being exchanged for the notion that parliament has nothing to do with theology, but must support the creed of the many, the christian advocates of establishments have no longer any principle to contend for. And should they resort to the lower considerations of expediency, as the only remaining method by which they can defend these establishments, even these, like a battery carried by the enemy, are turned by the new doctrine against them; since it must be worse than useless to maintain a body of sound teachers for the nation, on the condition that a larger body of false teachers shall be also maintained, to defeat all their efforts. Already has the Maynooth Bill given the greatest shock to the establishments of the United Kingdom which they have yet received; and should its principle lead further to the endowment of the Roman catholic church, they must shortly fall.’—pp. 28, 29.

It is of importance to note, that these statements are not penned by a member of that party whose ‘delirious counsels’ have been accustomed to represent the bayonet as the only remedy for catholic agitation. Mr. Noel is free from all sus-

picion of this kind. He admits the wrongs which have been done to Ireland, recapitulates and sets distinctly forth the atrocious laws which have disgraced our statute book, and declares that so utterly does he loathe the spirit of our past legislation, that instead of attempting to palliate its iniquity, he 'will leave it to the unmitigated and eternal abhorrence of all good men.' Neither is he so blinded by his strong conviction of the viciousness of the course pursued by Her Majesty's government, as to render him insensible to what may be urged in its behalf. That there is a plausibility in the defence attempted, we admit, and that it should be deemed conclusive by mere political liberals, we are not surprised. It was this which ensnared many members. They saw the evil of the past, they felt that protestant ascendancy had been a curse to Ireland, and that it was manifestly unjust to compel six millions and a half of Roman catholics to support the protestant church of eight hundred thousand. So far, they were right, and the fact of such a conviction having been induced, is an important step gained. But our representatives were ignorant of the way in which to meet the evil. They were either wedded to a system, the fruits of which were thus proved to be pernicious, or were so ignorant of the nature of religious liberty as to imagine themselves engaged in its service, at the very time when they violated both its spirit and principles. Mr. Noel generously concedes to Sir Robert Peel all which can be urged in defence of his measure, yet contends that it involves a principle so vicious and destructive, as to call for the united and unceasing opposition of all true protestants.

But what, it is natural to ask, is the conclusion to which Mr. Noel seeks to lead his readers. This is the point to which we wish especially to direct attention, and in order to its being comprehended, we must transcribe his statement of the Irish case:—

'Their first claim,' he says, 'is perfect civil equality with English protestants. Seven millions ask twenty millions to treat them fairly: to give them fair laws, a fair administration of justice, a fair number of representatives, a fair constituency, a fair share of the honours and emoluments which the state has to bestow, a fair consideration of the sufferings of the starving portion of the people; in short, to be treated in all things as equals and as friends. And who can blame them for this? Would not seven millions of protestants claim the same from twenty millions of catholics? It is a claim of simple justice, which ought to be granted, without a moment's delay, to those who utter no menace, by those who feel no fear. It is an appeal to a powerful majority, sustained by that divine Redeemer who has said, '*Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.*' '*Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*'

'But they claim, secondly, a religious equality too. Here there

may be more room for discussion ; for if it be the duty of a protestant majority in a legislature to honour God, by securing the preaching of his word throughout the nation, then religious equality cannot be the right of the subject, because all churches, except that which the dominant party establishes, must be legally depressed by its legal exaltation. Some able writers, as Professor Vinet, have argued that this state protection of a chosen creed is essentially unjust, unfavourable to the interests of truth, and always enslaves the privileged church ; while others, as Dr. Chalmers, have maintained it to be the obvious duty of a christian legislature. But, my lord, whatever doctrine we may embrace on this subject, we find ourselves in Ireland without a choice. Six millions and a half of people declare it grossly unjust that they should be called to maintain a national establishment of protestant ministers to subvert their own creed. This they feel to be a wrong, a hardship, a badge of subjection, an intolerable grievance to which they cannot submit, and still shout in the ears of the government, 'RELIGIOUS EQUALITY OR REPEAL !' If the government allege that this demand is unjust, for that they are bound, as christians, to provide for the universal preaching of the gospel through the land, the catholics answer—'Well, take your own way ; fasten this yoke on our necks by the despot's right—force. Compel us to pay for heresy, while you are too scrupulous to pay for catholicism, and tell us we are a conquered nation of Papists. We will bide our time. You call it religious ; we declare it to be unjust. Europe feels with us ; America feels with us ; and we shall one day have the opportunity of compelling you to feel with us too. 'RELIGIOUS EQUALITY OR REPEAL !'—pp. 14—16.

Such being the claim preferred, and the force with which it is urged, our author alleges that there are two modes by which it may be met. 'The first is to raise the priests to legal equality with the protestant ministers, by affording them an honourable maintenance ; the second is to bring down the protestant ministers to a legal equality with the priests, by ceasing to maintain them.' Her Majesty's government have preferred the former of these alternatives, and Mr. Noel pleads warmly on behalf of the latter. The Maynooth grant has already proved a failure. It was a miserable pittance, wholly inadequate for its professed object. It admitted the equity of the claim preferred, but utterly failed to meet its righteous demands. Irish agitation, therefore, continues, and can never be allayed, until the two parties be placed in precisely the same position. The policy involved in the Maynooth grant, necessitates an endowment of the catholic clergy, which again requires an expenditure vastly beyond the resources at our command. This is briefly put by our author, in the following sentences :—

'As the Catholics claim equality, it is evident that before they can be contented, their priests must receive a maintenance equal to that

of the Protestant pastors. Since, then, the Catholics are to the members of the Established Church as eight to one, they ought to have eight times as many priests, and eight times as many prelates as the Anglicans, and paid at the same rate. And since the Anglican clergy receive more than £550,000 per annum, the priests may claim £4,400,000 per annum, or complain of being treated unfairly. This attained, they would yet find endless occasions of jealousy, in observing the superiority of protestant rectors with glebes and permanent rent-charges over themselves, the stipendaries of government, who might lose their incomes whenever their conduct should be displeasing to the ruling party of the state. New grounds of complaint would be afforded in the territorial wealth and baronial dignity of the protestant prelates. Unless, therefore, the nation is prepared to maintain above 9000 priests, with a suitable array of catholic prelates having good incomes and seats in the House of Lords, this policy must be a failure; and after all furnish the catholics with occasion to complain of our partiality, and to demand independence.

‘Every aspect of this policy leads us to condemn it. It has not been asked by the catholics; it would not content them; it would be unjust towards the dissenters; it would introduce a principle of infidelity into our legislation; it would be a contempt of evangelical doctrine; and for the 1,200,000 petitioners against the Maynooth grant to consent to it, would be a violation of christian duty.’—pp. 30, 31.

From this reasoning the conclusion is obvious, and Mr. Noel does not attempt to evade it. ‘If,’ he asks, ‘the catholics must be conciliated, and only two methods of conciliation are proposed, the one, to pay teachers of all denominations, and the other, to pay none—can a christian hesitate which to choose?’ and he then proceeds to maintain that, as the property whence the revenues of the Irish church are derived is national, the state is perfectly competent, at the death of incumbents, to sell it ‘for objects of general utility both to catholics and protestants.’ Such reasoning, proceeding from such a quarter, may well be ranked amongst the signs of the times. But let us note how the objection of opponents is met. The historical argument is conclusive, and Mr. Noel makes good use of it. He says:—

‘Upon those who can see in such an arrangement nothing but sacrilege, I shall not waste many words. What the state took from catholic priests, because it believed that their holding of it was detrimental to the general welfare, it may certainly withhold from protestant ministers, when all parties see that they could not receive it without similar detriment to the commonwealth. As the state alone has given to protestant ministers a life interest in this public property for the national welfare, so may the state, when that life interest expires, apply the property to any other object which may be equally

for the national welfare. Repeatedly has the legislature asserted its right to deal with this property for the general good, especially in the reduction of the ten bishoprics, and the arrangements effected by the Tithe Commutation Acts; and it cannot be its duty to employ either this or any other corporate property in a manner to obstruct the progress of religion, and to destroy the peace of the empire.

'I do not conceal from myself that the result of this surrender might be a reduction in the numbers of the protestant ministers, although their maintenance, on their present footing, would only cost to the members of the Irish church, who possess much of the wealth of the kingdom, £1 each per annum; but IT IS QUITE CLEAR THAT THIS REDUCTION MUST SOON TAKE PLACE, WHATEVER MEASURES MAY BE ADOPTED, AND WHATEVER PARTY MAY BE IN POWER. And if there might be fewer ministers, the reduced corps would be animated with loftier zeal, and endued with ampler powers of usefulness. Protestant gentlemen, possessed of four-fifths of the soil of Ireland, would not generally leave themselves and their tenants destitute of pastors; and if a small fraction of the English people can raise £300,000 per annum for missions to the heathen, England would not overlook the fair claims of our protestant fellow-subjects.' pp. 46, 47.

Our author enforces his reasoning by the secession from the Scottish church, which has recently taken place. It is as though the providence of God were co-working with, nay, were anticipating, the labours of men. The three churches of the United Kingdom—for that which identifies the Irish with the English church is a mere fiction—are, at the same time, exposed to fearful peril, and are made to illustrate, each in its appropriate way, the evils of state patronage, the insecurity of endowed protestantism, or the efficiency of the voluntary principle. To the last of these, the history of the Scottish secession points, and Mr. Noel skillfully adverts to it in his closing appeal to the Bishop of Cashel:—

'Is it not far better, my Lord,' he asks, 'that the ministers of the Irish church should from this day themselves advocate that measure? Five hundred ministers of the church of Scotland, when they believed that the state was doing dishonour to Christ, and trampling on the rights of a christian people, renounced their stipends and their homes rather than partake of the sin, and casting themselves on the care of God, they have not been forsaken. None of them, as they have repeatedly assured me, regret the sacrifice; but all of them are labouring with more ardour and more success than before, for the spiritual welfare of their country. The Irish church, my Lord, is called to a less severe resolution: your life-interests are sacred property, which parliament would not touch; and Mr. O'Connell knows too well the injustice and danger of violating the right of property, not to respect them. Then should your church be dis-established

to-morrow, your incomes would be secure, and you have the remainder of your lives in which to prepare your country for the change. Long has the church been rendered incapable of efficient action, by the enmity with which state patronage has surrounded it : but should you now organize a missionary system for the whole island, and call your English brethren to your aid, so that the Gospel may be heard in every village, not only in your churches, to which catholics will not come, but wherever they may be gathered to listen ; the truths of the Gospel, unchecked in their influence by the bitterness which your possession of hated privileges has hitherto generated among the peasantry, may effect a religious change in Ireland, greater than it has yet experienced. Thus the church may answer by its dis-establishment the very end for which it was established. For this, too, the grace of God appears to have been preparing you. The separation of the church from the state fifty years ago would have left your country almost wholly to the priests ; but now it would only animate hundreds of excellent men to proclaim Christ with more ardour to all the catholics of Ireland'—pp. 51, 52.

We wait to see what will be the result of this appeal. Should it be successful, a benefit will be conferred on the Irish nation, to which its history furnishes no parallel : a new era will dawn on its people ; religious truth will have what it has never yet enjoyed, a free and open course ; strife and discord, the hatred of the oppressed and the pride of the oppressor, will gradually disappear ; and the children of Ireland, eminent amongst the nations for genius and warm-heartedness, will learn to venerate a faith, which they have hitherto associated with their wrongs. In parting from Mr. Noel, we tender him our respectful and hearty thanks. He writes as a churchman—but we have not deemed it needful to contest those portions of his reasonings which we deem unsound. It is due to him, however, to affirm, that there are such, lest the suspicion of insincerity in his ecclesiastical position should be awakened. On some future occasion we may recur to them, but are unwilling at present to be diverted from other, and far more grateful occupation.

One word to our own friends, and we have done. In the case before us we have a beautiful illustration of fidelity to religious conviction. So far as the truth is apprehended, it is honestly and openly avowed. There is no attempt at concealment or evasion, no prudent waiting till the progress of public opinion renders the expression of conviction expedient, no cautious looking about to see whether it will prove injurious or otherwise to personal standing or class influence, to give free utterance to the sentiments entertained. In these respects a worthy example for imitation is supplied. Let us honestly follow it,

without fear or anger, avoiding alike and with equal scrupulousness what is opposed to the integrity, or what violates the spirit of Christ. We avow before the world a deep conviction that the supremacy of our Master is invaded, the spirituality of his kingdom denied, and the religious interests of men fearfully injured by the state church system. Recent events have led to the more explicit enunciation of our views on these points, and have thus placed us under increased obligation to labour for their diffusion. We have deeply and solemnly pledged ourselves before God and his church, to allow no legitimate opportunity to escape of carrying them out to a successful issue. Such an opportunity is now occurring in the immediate neighbourhood where we write, and it will test men's spirits and show us the worth of their professions. A vacancy having occurred in the representation of Southwark, our honoured fellow labourer, Mr. Edward Miall, has been induced to offer himself as a candidate on anti-state church principles. His language is explicit, and his whole life proves his integrity. No man who knows him doubts his word, or believes that the universe, if combined, could induce him to belie his conviction.

'I object,' he says in his address to the electors, 'to all interference of government with the religion of its subjects. To effect an entire separation of the church from the state, has been, and will continue to be, in whatever sphere I am called to act, the main end of my efforts. To this I have consecrated my life, and, whether in or out of parliament, this object I shall pursue with unflagging zeal.'

Mr. Miall is opposed by Sir William Molesworth, a member of the Whig Radical party, which lent itself with such ready zeal to the Maynooth policy of Sir Robert Peel. Had he been in parliament, he avows that he should have voted with his party in support of the ministerial measure, *and refuses to pledge himself not to vote for the endowment of the Roman catholic clergy.* 'If,' remarked Sir William, on the 18th of August, at the Bridge House Hotel, 'on any future occasion it should be considered a question of policy that a portion of the funds of the established church should be appropriated to that purpose'—the endowment of the catholic clergy—'he would reserve to himself the right of following whatever course he considered right and necessary.' Such are the ecclesiastical views of the two candidates. We wait to see what the dissenters of Southwark will do. Their numbers are sufficient to determine the struggle, and if there be honesty in them, they will return Mr. Miall. To this course they are pledged by their many professions during their recent discussions of the Maynooth Bill, and he who urges the question of expediency, or pleads the hopelessness of the contest,

in vindication of his vote being given to Sir William Molesworth, is treacherous to the cause of religious liberty, and reckless of its triumph.

What may be the issue of the contest, however, we cannot, of course, determine; but we are desirous, before that issue be known (we write on the 23rd), to place on record our convictions, that by allowing himself to be nominated on this occasion, Mr. Miall has rendered to religious liberty the most important service of his life. The liberal party, as it is termed, require to be taught that we value our principles, and intend to act on them. As yet, they have no faith in our professions, and it would be marvellous if they had, for we have done nothing to warrant it. Our religious convictions have been held in subserviency to our political associations, and mere Whig and Radical candidates, hating our religion, and ignorant of our ecclesiastical principles, have, in consequence, had our electoral support. It is time that an end should be put to this state of things. It has already continued too long, and has inflicted on our character and principles an injury which years of honest and consistent labour will be required to remedy.

It is an auspicious sign of the times, that such a man as Mr. Miall should have been invited to offer himself, on such grounds to the constituency of Southwark. That dissenter, and especially that dissenting minister, incurs a fearful responsibility, who fails to record his vote in his favour, for nothing more is needed to secure his return, than the united and cordial support of the non-conformist body. On this point we speak advisedly. They have it in their power to secure a representative of their principles, every way worthy of their confidence, and qualified for the advocacy of their cause; and if they fail to do, whatever plea may be urged, they will richly merit, as they will undoubtedly receive, the scornful rebuke of all right minded men. Our space is occupied, and we must close. In doing so, we place on record the resolutions which have been unanimously adopted in relation to this movement, by the British Anti-state Church Association, and recommend the course they advise to all our friends:—

‘That the recent discussions in parliament on the Maynooth Endowment Bill have clearly elicited the fact, that religious liberty is exposed to serious peril from the views prevalent amongst the two great political parties of our country; and that it is, therefore, incumbent on the protestant dissenters of the empire to seek the return to the House of Commons of men reared in their midst, conversant with their principles, and both able and willing to advocate them in the legislature.

‘That the qualifications of Mr. Miall, as the indefatigable advocate

of entire religious freedom, pre-eminently fit him for the occupation of such a post; and that this committee, therefore, having regard exclusively to the ecclesiastical principles avowed in his address, most urgently call upon the dissenting electors of Southwark to give him their united and cordial support.'

Art. VI.—*The Negotiations for the Peace of the Dardanelles in 1808-9; with Dispatches and Official Documents.* By the Right Honourable Sir Robert Adair, G.C.B.: being a Sequel to his Mission at Vienna in 1806. 2 vols. 8vo. Longmans. 1845.

OUR foreign policy, which operates for the welfare or misery of so many millions, presents us with few features of statesmanship or attractiveness. Oliver Cromwell, and King William the Third, at least knew what they were about, and acted accordingly. The object of the one was to elevate England,—of the other, to depress France. Since their time, however, all seems to have been left to circumstances, or abandoned to the caprices of those rival factions which have struggled for ascendancy in the royal councils. The revolution inflicted upon these realms the curse of a dominant aristocracy, who played sad pranks even under the eye of public opinion, with regard to domestic arrangements; but abroad, where they were to a certain extent out of sight, the result was deplorable. Diplomacy degenerated into a science of intrigue and dissimulation; of which patronage, and not patriotism, was the living influential soul. We had a glimpse of this, in the former volumes of our author, as to his mission at Vienna; and more of it will appear throughout his procedures at the semi-barbarous court of Constantinople. The late Lord Malmesbury had made a note in his recently published diary not very flattering to Sir Robert Adair, describing him as, 'not indeed without abilities, but such a dupe to women, that no secret was safe with him. Fox, his intimate friend and patron, knew him so well, that when he named him for Vienna, he stipulated that Mrs. A. (a French woman) should not go with him, and that, if even she followed him, his mission should cease. Yet she did so, after the death of Fox, and Canning suffered Adair nevertheless to remain at Vienna, and employed him elsewhere.' Sir Robert, of course, strongly endeavours to explain and palliate such serious insinuations; but we do not perceive that he denies the facts. He seems to have been a member of parliament, with an irresistible amount of claims upon the foreign minister for the time being, for a share in that species of public spoil passing under the name of diplo-

matic employment. It might appear very amusing to see one ambassador thus uncovering the nakedness of another; did not indignation absorb all other feelings at the cool manner in which the noblest interests of a country are sacrificed to the hopes of a coronet, or the coveted splendour of the bath, the thistle, or the garter! Pensions prove a more solid appendage to such follies; nor can we fail glancing at the satisfaction with which our hero himself must expatiate in his comfortable retiring allowance of £2,300 per annum! John Bull, as we well know, loves his whistle dearly: but then he has to pay for it.

Whigs and Tories have been equally culpable in sending forth weak ambassadors,—in filing their feeble correspondence at the foreign office,—and then dismissing them after their expensive travels, to an early repose upon the cushions of the civil list. When 'All the Talents' had come into power, an armament was sent by them into the east of the Mediterranean, simply because the Turkish divan seemed at a loss how to act between France and the Russians. The victory of Napoleon at Austerlitz made Europe tremble even to the banks of the Bosphorus, so that the Grand Seignior Selim, who had demurred about acknowledging an imperial title in Buonaparte, at length gave way with something almost like precipitation, for an oriental, and received General Sebastiani as ambassador from Paris. This alarmed Alexander, who seized upon Moldavia, Wallachia, and Bessarabia. England then became weak enough to act the part of cat's-paw for Russia. 'Come,' said the unstable Czar of Muscovy to our stolid George the Third, 'and annihilate Corsican influence at Stamboul:' and so the king, 'unwilling to *disoblige* a powerful ally, whose friendship he wished to secure, ordered Sir John Thomas Duckworth to enter the Dardanelles, and 'offer terms to the Porte at the mouth of his cannon!' It must be remembered, that we then were at peace with Turkey: yet, in February, 1807, that one sovereign might not *disoblige* another, a British admiral passed the straits with seven ships of the line, and destroyed five vessels of war belonging to the Ottomans. When within eight miles of the Golden Horn, a negotiation was proposed, in which the Sublime Porte acquiesced, for the mere purpose of gaining time, just as an unhappy traveller, under the pistol of a footpad would readily consent to haggle for half an hour for the wretched chance of the police arriving before he was quite murdered. The Sultan made the most of his opportunity. Backed by French officers, batteries were being thrown up day and night, so that by the termination of the armistice, every point of the coast bristled with artillery, and final defiance was hurled in the faces of the

invaders. Overwhelmed with shame, both as to what they had done and what they had not done, the English squadron had now to retire. Nearly three hundred men were killed or wounded in this disgraceful affair. Balls of granite, weighing 800 lbs. were showered upon our frigates as they withdrew before the triumphant crescent. Our name, which had not been very fragrant before among the Mussulmen, was now offensive to the last degree. The whole of Europe reproached us for the injustice of the attempt, and ridiculed us, as we deserved, for the manner in which it was conducted. If intimidation had been the object, Admiral Duckworth proceeded too far, since he converted terror into rage: if bombardment were to have settled the business, as at Copenhagen, then where was the British valour,—where were the necessary equipments,—where was the wisdom of our governors,—where were the results of our boasted and costly diplomacy? Blunders rapidly begat blunders. Mortified at Constantiple, we then fell upon Egypt, instead of helping out the King of Prussia, by which some good might have accrued. Similar misfortunes awaited us both at Alexandria and Rosetta. The Mamelouks were as lucky as the Ottomans in humbling our almost incurable folly. The Courts of London and Berlin shook hands too late. Buonaparte fought the fearful battles of Eylau and Friedland: Dantzic and Königsberg surrendered: whilst on a raft upon the Niemen, those terms were dictated to Alexander by the French Emperor, which the 7th of July, 1807, saw consummated at Tilsit. Amidst various other stipulations, the Czar was to withdraw his troops from the Danubian provinces, and accept the mediation of France for a treaty of peace with the Grand Seignior. We were, as usual, left in the lurch by our continental allies.

General Sebastiani had now no great difficulty in persuading the Turkish government that France loved the Divan, if it were only because Great Britain had maltreated it! The Sultan, his vizier, and the ulema, smoked opium, stroked their beards, and swore by Mahomet that it must be so. Sebastiani then wished to advance one step further, and change these dull infidels into good soldiers and statesmen, were that possible. French tactics were introduced into the Ottoman armies; upon which the conservatives of the capital, commonly called the Janizaries, arose in a body, deposed Selim, and proclaimed Mustapha the Fourth, sultan in his stead. The French envoy, however, remained quietly at his post, keeping his footing of favour with the Ottoman by laying the entire blame of the insurrection upon England; adducing, as an irrefragable proof of this most impudent assertion, an almanack of Francis Moore, in which it was said, amongst the usual predictions for the year, 'Let the Grand

Seignior look to his head,—I give him fair warning!’ Sebastiani brought the ominous prophecy before the mufti with as grave an air as though he had been a seer himself. He succeeded in directing the sagacious inference, that a professor of astronomy in London having discovered in the heavens an insurrection of the janizaries and the death of the sultan, *what was so easily foreseen could not fail to have been preconcerted!* The English, therefore, were to be abhorred; and no Franks could be so well entitled to bask in the light of the countenances of the faithful as the subjects and servants of the invincible conqueror, whose word and will were laws, with all Europe, except Great Britain and Ireland. Meanwhile an armistice ensued, as Napoleon desired, between Constantinople and St. Petersburg. Each party was in its turn overawed and overreached by the Corsican usurper. He could rekindle, in a breath, the flames of warfare, which he had only smothered for an interval, to serve his own purposes. He compelled Russia to restore Turkey whatever ships had been captured by the former, which consolidated his reputation with the latter; but the Muscovites were permitted to remain at Jassy and Bucharest, and on the Pruth, in full force, which, of course, indisposed Alexander to secede from his French alliance. Servia had now also declared herself independant, and Bosnia had revolted. England should have sought her strength in these quarters. We could have desired no better friends and supporters than were to be found in the European provinces of the Turkish empire. Had her foreign policy been invigorated with ordinary tact and ability, such obvious advantages would never have been perpetually overlooked by her diplomatists and statesmen. Sir Walter Scott, than whom no one was better acquainted with the federative affairs of Europe, although selfish and contracted in his notions of domestic matters, has well remarked, that England’s right arm had withered through a miserable habit of attending always to governments, and never to their people. ‘We sent ambassadors,’ he somewhere observes, ‘to make our peace with the Porte, when we ought to have treated with Czar George, at the head of his gallant Servians,—to have taken the Greek islands under our protection, and to have assisted all the revolted districts in establishing their independance and forming themselves into civilized societies.’ These countries have never enjoyed an age of tranquillity since the days of Trajan, when they first became known to history. The neighbouring mountaineers, a hardy race, whose songs are of the glories of Scanderberg, had amalgamated with the lowlanders, under the brave chieftain just mentioned, to attempt the emancipation of the whole country from Belgrade to the Morea, and the parallel coast down to the

Mediterranean. A constitution was framed, with a national assembly and proper officers. The territory had already undergone a division into districts, with supreme tribunals and civil magistrates in every town, and justices of the peace in every village. General improvement and popular education were their avowed objects. Their limits so enlarged as to comprise a fourth part of European Turkey; and here we might have rocked the cradle of incipient liberty and prosperity. It was the aristocratic principle of our diplomacy, which recoiled from all such noble purposes. The most generous conduct towards them would have materially advanced our genuine interests; but by that strange fatality alluded to, whilst the heart of our countrymen throbs with the most disinterested motives; we are made to act abroad like the greediest and blindest nation upon earth. France, on the other hand, continued to acquire a character for candour and benevolence, whilst devoted solely to the promotion of her own aggrandizement. We scarcely know a more melancholy picture.

Mismanagement appeared in almost every effort we made upon the political arena, as between Greece, Turkey, France, Austria, and Russia. Our flag, and general policy, excited little else besides universal contempt in the Levant and Archipelago. Nor was it better with us, from Croatia and Bosnia, to the Balkan. Czar in George and his compatriots, in struggling against barbarism, autocracy, and the cruel sensualism of the Koran, were abandoned by us to the French, as their natural protectors. This was altogether the result of our wilful negligence. We left them, without an effort, to the machinations of our bitterest enemy. The agents of France persuaded them of her magnanimity and beneficence; and, in that persuasion, they regarded the progressive usurpations of Buonaparte with hope, instead of fear. He boldly seized the harbour of Cataro, in the Adriatic, and abolished the independence of Ragusa. These transactions excited no other attention in England, than a few idle hopes that something might occur to set the despots of Paris and Vienna by the ears. Nothing was thought of beyond a renewal of our alliance with Turkey, the cruel adversary of christianity and freedom—a government, whose stability was never to be depended upon for a single week—to whom we could afford no assistance, and from whom we could derive no advantage. One ambassador was sent after another to Constantinople, while the Greeks, as well throughout the islands as on the Continent, were all looking to us for deliverance, or rather had been so, until we suffered the game to slip out of our hands. A body of Macedonians, who were then in arms, occupying the isles of Ikiathos and Chilidronia, whilst they in-

fested the neighbourhood of Salonika, applied to our squadron, declaring that if we would give them an island suitable for their establishment, they would join us, collect ten thousand men under their banners, and take the whole Archipelago. It is beyond a doubt that this would have been done. Had we but given the word, the entire Greek islands, as well as the Morea, would have been leagued with us against Turkey and France. It is humiliating to record the answer which they received. They were told in reply, that they had better return to their allegiance, and remain quiet under the government of Turkey. We could not interfere! If they trusted to Russia, she would deceive them as before: and if they trusted to France, they had as little reason for confidence. Russia and France were jealous of each other; nor would either ever permit the other to obtain an ascendancy in Greece: therefore, they had better remain faithful and loyal to the Sublime Porte. *Ab uno discimus omnes!*

With regard to the islanders of Idra we were made to appear equally foolish, and rather more deceitful. Instead of evoking the genius of Old Hellas, or appealing to associations, which might have spread from the Danube to the Egean, to the Vistula, the Elbe, and the Rhine, Sir Arthur Paget first, and afterwards Sir Robert Adair, received instructions about trying to restore our ancient hollow relations with the Ottoman Seraglio. Mustapha the Fourth felt his rotten empire quivering under his feet. On the 28th of July, 1808, another revolution consigned him to a dungeon, and substituted in his place Mahmoud, a boy of fifteen, only remarkable then for being the last of his race. The divan, deigning to be delighted for the time being, even with Great Britain, simply because *proh pudor!* she was ready to guarantee the subjection of Greece, was informed about Michaelmas, in the same year, that an English envoy had arrived with a flag of truce at the Dardanelles. Prodigious secrecy and mystification followed. The ensuing November witnessed a new series of pillages, massacres, fires, and military commotions, in the once favoured capital of Constantine. Our ambassador, however, took up his residence at Pera, amidst immense indignation loudly expressed on the side of the Russian and French missions. These last spoke of England as a mere insular power, exhausted, treacherous, and ambitious: whereas Napoleon and Alexander were imperial autocrats, reigning from Archangel to the Adriatic. Had Buonaparte and his ally fulfilled their promise of evacuating Moldavia and Wallachia, these representations would have gone for much more than they were worth. But eighteen months had elapsed, since full restitution of the Danubian provinces had been agreed upon;—yet not a mile

of these territories had been restored. Seasonable reminiscences also of Acre, of Aboukir and the Nile, of Lord Nelson and Sir Sidney Smith, were awakened through the British dragomans. Also, above everything else, the Turkish ministers could just discern, that a single English proclamation would arm all Greece at once against them; whilst by accepting a peace for which they had no sacrifices to pay, nor services to perform, they might make us their securities against France and Russia, upon their weakest frontier. The Austrian internuncio adopted and supported at a private conference, similar views. Hence, on the fifth of January 1809, that treaty was signed, which re-established our connections with Turkey, as they had been before the disastrous expedition of Sir John Thomas Duckworth. General Sebastiani stormed in vain. Russia declared war in eight and forty hours. She was ready, in fact, for the fight, with little to resist her beyond the popular superstition of Islam. To this, indeed, the sultan appealed, without delay. The Sanjar Sherif, or Holy Standard, which had been the chamber curtain of the favourite wife of the false prophet, was solemnly unfurled, as an ultimate palladium. The mussulmen affirm, that no unbeliever can look upon it with impunity; and even their own eyes have been affected with a dazzling tremour, from so venerable a relic. It was, after many prayers, carried with immense pomp to a splendid tent, and placed in the special custody of four regiments, deriving augmented pay and titles from their peculiar service. The sultan prostrated himself before it on the earth, and then pressed its fringe reverently against his forehead. Our ambassador had enjoyed his audience, prior to this nonsensical pageant: nevertheless, he had to strain every nerve, and every talent he possessed, for the ignoble object, that our George the Third, a christian potentate, might address a Mahometan sovereign as the 'Refuge of the world, and the shadow of God!' We have often wondered where the royal conscience or the Archbishop of Canterbury could have been, on the receipt of Turkish despatches. We heard more than enough about the irresistible influence of both, when the Test Act was proposed to be repealed, and the catholics emancipated. It must not be forgotten, that by the holiness attributed to his rank, the grand seignior has the privilege of killing, if he pleases, fourteen persons per diem, without assigning a cause, or incurring an imputation of tyranny or injustice. Such were our Ottoman allies, with whom we condescended to conclude, by the hands of Sir Robert Adair, the peace of the Dardanelles.

We need not pause to point out its utter worthlessness, nor to lament our waste of treasure in propping up the decayed system of oriental despotism. Islamism is one vast Alhambra, rapidly

falling to pieces; although here and there presenting just so much of the picturesque, as to carry back a philosophic mind to certain not uninteresting points connected with general civilization. Yet even in these respects, Turkey is more sterile and dull than Persia, or the various sites of the Caliphates. Ottoman domination has literally nothing to recommend it. We see in it, from first to last, only a dismal unbroken series of rapine, cruelty, savageness, and licentiousness. Its pride is without grandeur—its luxury is without elegance—its learning and language are without literature—its gravity is without dignity—its obstinacy is that of a mule—and its cupidity descends to the very depths of baseness. At one of their earliest interviews, Sir Robert Adair was reminded by the haughty official with whom he treated, that Great Britain ‘was rich: she paid subsidies to all her allies, and why refuse to succour in the same manner a friend who was about to risk so much to be at peace with her!’ It is not a little amusing to observe, with what acuteness and cunning these semi-barbarians attempted to pounce upon our pockets. Nor can we wonder at it. We were coaxing even the Pasha of Joannina; and within a few years surrendered to him Parga. There was scarcely a monster, wallowing in lust and bloodshed, that we did not seem willing to purchase, if there was a spark of liberty to be trampled out, or an expression of national independence to be anywhere resisted. Sir Robert Adair was friendly however to the establishment of the Septinsular republic, and ably drew the attention of his superiors to the importance of Corfu. The following extract may convey a favourable idea of his communications with the Foreign office, and is the only one we have room for:—

‘The first object of Great Britain, in reference to the permanent interests of the empire, should now be to occupy immediately the Key-islands, among the different chains of islands lying more or less contiguous to the hostile line of continental maritime posts. Great Britain will thus easily oppose to the enemy *another line of insular posts*, which, with her actual naval superiority, would enable her to bid defiance to the greatest efforts of her enemies to subvert her power. In the Mediterranean, among the chains of islands in question, that of the Ionian Islands is in all respects the most important. Corfu, the principal of these islands, as well from its geographical position as physical structure, must be considered as one of those few commanding places in the globe, which necessarily secure or enlarge the empire of those who possess them. Corfu is indispensable to any power that moves in a great military sphere. Possessing an excellent and capacious arsenal for the construction of ships of the heaviest burthen, and a harbour capable of containing the navies of Europe, secure from any attack of enemies or injury of weather, with

a double entrance at the north and south, it has also the rare advantage of having the strongest natural fortress, commanding at the same time the harbour. The island, as to its agricultural resources, offers the means of establishing a rich and flourishing colony, enjoying one of the finest climates. These natural advantages are so constituted, as not to be impaired by any human efforts. By its position, it commands absolutely the Adriatic and Ionian seas—controls both the south of Italy and the western provinces of Turkey, and at the same time is independent of them both. The British influence over the pashas of the important province of Albania, will be little more than nominal; while France governs on the Save, at Cattaro, and at Corfu. The whole of the Adriatic sea, since the last treaty at Vienna, has become one vast arsenal of France, comprising the ports and dockyards of Cattaro, Ragusa, Zara, Curzola, Fiume, Trieste, Venice, Anema, Torento, &c.—possessing every facility of mutual communication, and abounding with the best materials for building and equipping fleets and naval armaments of all sorts. The republic of Venice owed its naval greatness to these very resources, which have been just brought into the exclusive possession of the usurper of Italy. Of this immense French arsenal, Corfu is the key. Yet, with this key in the possession of Great Britain, that now powerful arm of the Mediterranean would be at once reduced to little more than a choked harbour.'—Vol. i. pp. 305, 6.

Almost the only good thing we permanently obtained, at the Congress of Vienna, was the Protectorate of the Ionia republic. It enables us to watch over Greece, and curb the movements of Austria, whenever they may happen to take any commercial direction unfavourable to British interests. The latter power, therefore must, under ordinary circumstances, lean to our side, as against France and Russia. Sir Robert Adair has also very clear notions with regard to Candia, as being essential to our future preponderance in the Levant. Sooner or later the Turkish empire will be shared out amongst the greater European powers. France will probably attempt the seizure of Syria—Russia of Constantinople—Austria of Servia and Bosnia. Our soundest policy will then be to form the Archipelago, with Crete and Cyprus, into a republic analogous to that of Corfu, Zante, Cefalonia, and Cerigo,—of course under British auspices. The independence of Egypt might thus be most effectually preserved, as being once more the great territory of transit through which civilization, and we trust christianity, may find their pathway to the Indus and the Ganges, the golden islands of the Orient, as well as the empires of Birmah, Siam, and China. Who can help looking forward to the crisis, which can be at no great distance; for calm as the surface of Christendom may now appear, there are elements at work, which must ere long develope marvellous revolutions? The Druse and the Maronite on Mount

Lebanon—the Circassian and the Russian from Trebizond to the Caspian—the ecclesiastical jealousies, congregating like vultures, around the holy sepulchre—the growing repulsiveness between the gloomy Turk and half emancipated Rayahs throughout the Ottoman provinces—the machinations of Nicholas and his ministers in Central Asia, and of Louis Philippe in the Mediterranean, wherever a French agent can worm his way, into a city, an island, or a pashalic,—these, and many more materials for combustion and explosion, are but waiting for the train and the match, to ignite consecutively and simultaneously, and appal us with the lurid ravages of an extensive social conflagration. Let Great Britain lose no time in endeavouring to grow wiser as she grows older—in learning prudence from the past—and in improving for the future the character of her foreign policy, as well as the schools in which our diplomatists are educated.

These volumes are beautifully got up, and reflect no little credit upon their universally respected publishers.

Art. VII. *Servia, the youngest Member of the European Family : or, a Residence in Belgrade, and Travels in the Highlands and Woodlands of the Interior, during the Years 1843 and 1844.* By Andrew Archibald Paton, Esq. 12mo. London, Longman & Co.

THE subject of this volume is very slightly known to our countrymen. Lying out of the range of our commerce, and possessing no great political importance, its revolutions have awakened but little interest, and the character and condition of its inhabitants have remained almost absolutely unknown. Servia belongs nominally to the dominions of Turkey-in-Europe, but is in a great measure independent of the Porte. It is bounded on the north by Hungary, on the south by Macedonia, on the west by Bosnia, and on the east by Wallachia and Bulgaria. Its greatest length north to south is about one hundred and eighty miles, and its breadth varies from one hundred to one hundred and sixty miles. Its population is computed to be a million, and the prevalent religious faith is that of the Greek Church. It was conquered by the Turks in 1365, but early in the present century a successful revolt took place, under the leadership of Cara Georg, a native chief, who continued to govern the country, till the general peace of 1814, when the domination of the Porte was restored, and Cara Georg sought refuge in the territory of Austria. The cruelties practised by the Turks soon provoked another revolt, the ultimate conse-

quences of which were the complete overthrow of their power in Servia, and the establishment of a government which, though wanting many of the elements of European freedom, is more consonant to the views, and more conducive to the interests of the population than that which previously existed.

Such is the country treated of by Mr. Paton, and we took up his volume with all the favourable prepossessions induced by our high opinion of his former volume, entitled 'The Modern Syrians.' We have not been disappointed in its perusal, for though it is destitute of the special interest which attached to his prior work, it has a charm of its own; and describes in an unaffected yet vivid style, the habits, both personal and social, of a people with whom we were previously but little acquainted. Having spent four years in the East, our author informs us that he began 'to feel symptoms of ennui, and a thirst for European life, sharp air, and a good appetite, a blazing fire, well-lighted rooms, female society, and good music.' He therefore sailed from Beyrout in an Austrian steamer, and in two days and a half arrived at Rhodes, of which place he remarks.

'An enchanter has waved his wand! in reading of the wondrous world of the ancients, one feels a desire to get a peep at Rome before its destruction by barbarian hordes. A leap backwards of half this period is what one seems to make at Rhodes, a perfectly preserved city and fortress of the middle ages. Here has been none of the Vandalism of Vauban, Cohorn, and those mechanical-pated fellows, who, with their Dutch dyke-looking parapets, made such havoc of donjons and picturesque turrets in Europe. Here is every variety of mediæval battlement; so perfect is the illusion, that one wonders the warder's horn should be mute, and the walls devoid of bowman, knight, and squire.'—p. 3.

At Smyrna Mr. Paton, in good John Bull style, 'signalized his return to the land of the Franks' by ordering a beef steak, and a bottle of porter, and by bespeaking the paper 'from a gentleman in drab leggings, who had come from Manchester to look after the affairs of a commercial house, in which he, or his employers were involved.' Thence he proceeded by way of Varna to Servia, briefly illustrating the state of society by occasional allusions which awaken regret at their not having been more largely unfolded. Having passed the Timok which separates Servia from Bulgaria, the scenery and habits of the country soon indicated a change from the region through which he had travelled.

'Lofty mountains seemed to rise to the west, and the cultivated plain now became broken into small ridges, partly covered with forest trees. The ploughing oxen now became rarer; but herds of

swine, grubbing at acorns and the roots of bushes, showed that I was changing the scene, and making the acquaintance, not only of a new country, but of a new people. The peasants, instead of having woolly caps and frieze clothes as in Bulgaria, all wore the red fez, and were dressed mostly in blue cloth; some of those in the villages wore black glazed caps; and in general the race appeared to be physically stronger and nobler than that which I had left. The Bulgarians seemed to be a set of silent serfs, deserving (when not roused by some unusual circumstance) rather the name of machines than of men; these Servian fellows seemed lazier, but all possessed a manliness of address and demeanour, which cannot be discovered in the Bulgarian.'—pp. 37, 38.

In his subsequent ride from Orsova to Dreucova, Mr. Paton tells us that he found himself 'in the midst of the noblest river scenery he had ever beheld, certainly far surpassing that of the Rhine and Upper Danube.' The noblest view, however, was obtained from the summit of the Kopaunik, which is described in the following brief extract.

'A gentle wind skimmed the white straggling clouds from the blue sky. Warmer and warmer grew the sunlit valleys; wider and wider grew the prospect as we ascended. Balkan after Balkan rose on the distant horizon. Ever and anon I paused and looked round with delight; but before reaching the summit I tantalized myself with a few hundred yards of ascent, to treasure the glories in store for the pause, the turn, and the view. When, at length, I stood on the highest peak; the prospect was literally gorgeous. Servia lay rolled out at my feet. There was the field of Kossovo, where Amurath defeated Lasar and entombed the ancient empire of Servia. I mused an instant on this great landmark of European history, and following the finger of an old peasant, who accompanied us, I looked eastwards, and saw Deligrad—the scene of one of the bloodiest fights that preceded the resurrection of Servia as a principality. The Morava glistened in its wide valley like a silver thread in a carpet of green, beyond which the dark mountains of Rudnik rose to the north, while the frontiers of Bosnia, Albania, Macedonia, and Bulgaria walled in the prospect.

'*Nogo Svet.*—This is the whole world,' said the peasant, who stood by me.

'I myself thought, that if an artist wished for a landscape as the scene of Satan taking up our Saviour into a high mountain, he could find none more appropriate than this. The Kopaunik is not lofty; not much above six thousand English feet above the level of the sea. But it is so placed in the Servian basin, that the eye embraces the whole breadth from Bosnia to Bulgaria, and very nearly the whole length from Macedonia to Hungary.—pp. 209—211.

At Belgrade our author met with Mr. Holman, one of the extraordinary men of our day. Various qualities confer distinc-

tion; and the blindness of this gentleman, associated with the fact of his extensive travels, has attached to him no slight degree of interest. Our readers will learn something of his habits from the following.

'One day I was going out at the gateway, and saw a strange figure, with a long white beard and a Spanish cap, mounted on a sorry horse, and at once recognized it to be that of Holman, the blind traveller.

'How do you do, Mr. Holman?' said I.

'I know that voice well.'

'I last saw you in Aleppo,' said I; and he at once named me.

'I then got him off his horse, and into quarters.

'This singular individual had just come through the most dangerous parts of Bosnia in perfect safety; a feat which a blind man can perform more easily than one who enjoys the most perfect vision; for all compassionate and assist a fellow-creature in this deplorable plight.

'Next day I took Mr. Holman through the town, and described to him the lions of Belgrade; and taking a walk on the esplanade, I turned his face to the cardinal points of the compass, successively explaining the objects lying in each direction, and, after answering a few of his cross questions, the blind traveller seemed to know as much of Belgrade as was possible for a person in his condition.

'He related to me, that since our meeting at Aleppo, he had visited Damascus and other eastern cities; and at length, after sundry adventures, had arrived on the Adriatic, and visited the Vladika of Montenegro, who had given him a good reception. He then proceeded through Herzegovina and Bosnia to Seraievo, where he passed three days, and he informed me that from Seraievo to the frontiers of Servia was nearly all forest, with here and there the skeletons of robbers hung up in chains.

'Mr. Holman subsequently went, as I understood, to Wallachia and Transylvania.—pp. 75, 76.

During his stay in Belgrade, our author had an opportunity of witnessing the return from banishment of two Servian patriots, whose services to the commonwealth, and recent exile, had greatly endeared them to the people. Such occasions afford opportunity for the display of national character, and are therefore worthy of being studied by the political philosopher. Mr. Paton's account is as follows.

'A few days after my arrival, Wucies and Petronievitch, the two pillars of the party of Kara Georgevitch, the reigning prince, and the opponents of the ousted Obrenovitch family, returned from banishment in consequence of communications that had passed between the British and Russian governments. Great preparations were made to receive the popular favourites.

'One morning I was attracted to the window, and saw an immense flock of sheep slowly paraded along, their heads being decorated with

ribbons, followed by oxen, with large citrons stuck on the tips of their horns.

'One vender of shawls and carpets had covered all the front of his shop with his gaudy wares, in order to do honour to the patriots, and at the same time to attract the attention of purchasers.

'The tolling of the cathedral bell announced the approach of the procession, which was preceded by a long train of rustic cavaliers, noble, vigorous-looking men. Standing at the balcony, we missed the sight of the heroes of the day, who had gone round by other streets. We, therefore, went to the cathedral, where all the principal persons in Servia were assembled. One old man, with grey, filmy, lack-lustre eyes, pendant jaws, and white beard, was pointed out to me as a centenarian witness of this national manifestation.

'The grand screen, which, in the Greek churches, veils the sanctuary from the vulgar gaze, was hung with rich silks, and on a raised platform, covered with carpets, stood the archbishop, a dignified high-priest-looking figure, with crosier in hand, surrounded by his deacons in superbly embroidered robes. The huzzas of the populace grew louder as the procession approached the cathedral, a loud and prolonged buzz of excited attention accompanied the opening of the grand central portal, and Wucics and Petronievitch, grey with the dust with which the immense cavalcade had besprinkled them, came forward, kissed the cross and gospels, which the archbishop presented to them, and kneeling down, returned thanks for their safe restoration. On regaining their legs, the archbishop advanced to the edge of the platform, and began a discourse describing the grief the nation had experienced at their departure, the universal joy for their return, and the hope that they would ever keep peace and union in view in all matters of state, and that in their duties to the state they must never forget their responsibility to the Most High.

'Wucics, dressed in the coarse frieze jacket and boots of a Servian peasant, heard with a reverential inclination of the head the elegantly polished discourse of the gold-bedizened prelate, but nought relaxed one single muscle of that adamantine visage; the finer but more luminous features of Petronievitch were evidently under the control of a less powerful will. At certain passages of the discourse, his intelligent eye was moistened with tears. Two deacons then prayed successively for the Sultan, the Emperor of Russia, and the prince.

'And now uprose from every tongue, and every heart, a hymn for the longevity of Wucics and Petronievitch. 'The solemn song for many days' is the expressive title of this sublime chant. This hymn is so old that its origin is lost in the obscure dawn of Christianity in the East, and so massive, so nobly simple, as to be beyond the ravages of time, and the caprices of convention.—pp. 67—70.

In one respect at least the Servians have the advantage of our countrymen, whose pugnacious disposition constitutes a mine of wealth to the lawyer class, as it renders their interference necessary. With the exception of the Capital, lawyers

are in ill favour throughout Servia, and various plans are adopted to prevent any occasion for their services, 'I have been more than once amused' says Mr. Paton 'on hearing an advocate, greedy of practice, style this laudable economy and patriarchal simplicity—'Avarice and aversion from civilization.' The spirit of Demetrius and of his craftsmen is applicable to other things than idolatry.

Shabatz is described as resembling a good town in Bulgaria. Very few of the shops have glazed fronts and counters in the European style. The inhabitants wear the old Turkish costume except the turban, and are apparently intent, like the people of other cities, in gaining as much as possible of this world's gear. Our author paid a visit to the Arch-priest, Iowan Paulovitch, a self-taught ecclesiastic, whom he found in a room filled with books, mostly Servian, with some German translations, amongst which were Shakespere, Young's Night Thoughts, and a novel of Bulwer. He hastened to the Government House, to present his letters, and received much hospitality from the Collector, or principal officer. The account which he gives of his entertainment illustrates the social habits of the people, and throws light on the point of civilization to which they have attained.

'Our host' he tells us 'provided most ample fare for supper, preceded by a glass of slivovitsa. We began with soup, rendered slightly acid with lemon juice, then came fowl, stewed with turnips and sugar. This was followed by pudding of almonds, raisins, and pancake. Roast capon brought up the rear. A white wine of the country was served during supper, but along with dessert we had a good red wine of Negotin, served in Bohemian coloured glasses. I have been thus minute on the subject of food, for the dinners I ate at Belgrade I do not count as Servian, having been all in the German fashion.

'The wife of the collector sat at dinner, but at the foot of the table; a position characteristic of that of women in Servia—midway between the graceful precedence of Europe and the contemptuous exclusion of the East.

'After hand-washing, we returned to the divan, and while pipes and coffee were handed round, a noise in the court yard denoted a visiter, and a middle aged man, with embroidered clothes, and silver-mounted pistols in his girdle, entered. This was the Natchalnik, or local governor, who had come from his own village, two hours off, to pay his visit; he was accompanied by the two captains under his command, one of whom was a military dandy. After the usual salutations, the Natchalik began—

'We have heard that Gospody Wellington has received from the English nation an estate for his distinguished services.'

Author. 'That is true; but the presentation took place a great many years ago.'

Natch. 'What is the age of Gospody Wellington?'

'*Author.* 'About seventy-five. He was born in 1769, the year in which Napoleon and Mohammed Ali first saw the light.'

'This seemed to awaken the interest of the party.'

'The roughly-clad trooper drew in his chair, and leaning his elbow on his knees, opened wide a pair of expectant eyes; the Natchalnik, after a long puff of his pipe, said, with some magisterial decision, 'That was a moment when nature had her sleeves tucked up. I think our Kara Georg must also have been born about that time.'

'*Natch.* 'Is Gospody Wellington still in service?'

'*Author.* 'Yes; he is commander-in-chief.'

'*Natch.* 'Well, God grant that his sons, and his sons' sons, may render as great services to the nation.'

'Our conversation was prolonged to a late hour in the evening, in which a variety of anecdotes were related of the ingenious methods employed by Milosh to fill his coffers as rapidly as possible.

'Mine host, taking a candle, then led me to my bedroom, a small carpeted apartment, with a German bed; the coverlet was of green satin, quilted, and the sheets were clean and fragrant; and I observed, that they were striped with an alternate fine and coarse woof.—pp. 104—107.

The state of education is represented as very hopeful, a rapid improvement having been recently effected, and the civil and ecclesiastical authorities uniting in its advancement. No details however, are furnished, to enable us to judge of the influence thus exercised over the national intellect. The result is probably similar to that which is elicited elsewhere, and we shall be glad of fuller information, to enable us to judge on this point. On the whole we are led to form a favourable opinion of the condition of the people whose good order and sobriety are noted by our traveller. Their character he regards as closely resembling that of the Scottish Highlander, and their personal appearance such as bespeaks strength of body and energy of mind. Of the hospitality displayed, he makes frequent mention, and it was obviously unselfish and cordial. The following may be taken as an instance.

'We now journeyed to Karanovatz, where we arrived after sunset, and proceeded in the dark up a paved street, till we saw on our left a *café*, with lights gleaming through the windows, and a crowd of people, some inside, some outside, sipping their coffee. An individual, who announced himself as the captain of Karanovatz, stepped forward, accompanied by others, and conducted me to his house. Scarcely had I sat down on his divan, when two handmaidens entered, one of them bearing a large basin in her hand.

'My guest,' said the captain, 'You must be fatigued with your ride. This house is yours. Suppose yourself at home in the country beyond the sea.'

‘‘What,’ said I, looking to the handmaidens, ‘supper already! You have divined my arrival to a minute.’

‘‘Oh, no; we must put you at your ease before supper time; it is warm water.’

‘‘Nothing can be more welcome to a traveller.’ So the handmaidens advanced, and while one pulled off my socks, I lolling luxuriously on the divan, and smoking my pipe, the other washed my feet with water, tepid to a degree, and then dried them. With these agreeable sensations still soothing me, coffee was brought by the lady of the house, on a very pretty service; and I could not help admitting that there was less roughing in Servian travel than I expected.’—pp. 182—184.

The journey however was not without its dangers. These arose principally from the fanaticism of the Turks, of which an instance occurred at Novibazar, a town of Bosnia, ‘miserable and filthy in the extreme.’ The immediate vicinity of this place to Servia has kept alive the hatred cherished by the Moslems towards the Franks, of whom one party only was remembered to have visited the town prior to our author. To this feeling Mr. Paton was obnoxious, and his safety, as the subjoined extract will shew, was ensured only by a rapid departure.

‘The castle was on the elevated centre of the town; and the town sloping on all sides down to the gardens, was as nearly as possible in the centre of the plain. When we had sufficiently examined the carved stone kaouks and turbans on the tomb stones, we re-descended towards the town. A savage-looking Bosniac now started up from behind a low outhouse, and trembling with rage and fanaticism began to abuse us: giaours, kafirs, spies! I know what you have come for. Do you expect to see your cross planted some day on the castle?’

‘The old story, thought I to myself; the fellow takes me for a military engineer, exhausting the resources of my art in a plan for the reduction of the redoubtable fortress and city of Novibazar.

‘‘Take care how you insult an honourable gentleman,’ said the over-rider; ‘we will complain to the Bey.’

‘‘What do we care for the Bey?’ said the fellow, laughing in the exuberance of his impudence. I now stopped, looked him full in the face, and asked him coolly what he wanted.

‘‘I will show you that when you get into the bazaar,’ and then he suddenly bolted down a lane out of sight.

‘A Christian, who had been hanging on at a short distance, came up and said—

‘‘I advise you to take yourself out of the dust as quickly as possible. The whole town is in a state of alarm; and unless you are prepared for resistance, something serious may happen: for the fellows here are all wild Arnaouts, and do not understand travelling Franks.’

‘‘Your advice is a good one; I am obliged to you for the hint, and I will attend to it.’

‘Had there been a Pasha or consul in the place, I would have got the fellow punished for his insolence: but knowing that our small party was no match for armed fanatics, and that there was nothing more to be seen in the place, we avoided the bazaar, and went round by a side street, paid our khan bill, and mounting our horses, trotted rapidly out of the town, for fear of a stray shot; but the over-rider on getting clear of the suburbs, instead of relaxing, got into a gallop. —pp. 201—203.

There is much other interesting information furnished by Mr. Paton, to which our space does not permit us further to allude. Such of our readers as are interested in the inquiries he opens up will recur to his volume, and we can assure them of a solid return for the time employed in its perusal.

Art. VIII. *An Original History of the Religious Denominations at present existing in the United States. Containing authentic accounts of their Rise, Progress, Statistics and Doctrines. Written expressly for the Work by eminent Theological Professors, Ministers, and lay members of the respective denominations. Projected, compiled and arranged by J. Daniel Rupp of Lancaster, Pr. Philadelphia. 1844.*

THE very title of this book presents matter for serious reflection. Like Joseph's garment, it is a coat of many colours; but they are not all pleasing—neither are they altogether unsightly. In truth we are both sorry and glad to see it, and to glance over its contents. We are sorry to witness such an exhibition of human infirmity and prejudice, as the existence of so multifarious a diversity of sects and parties affords, when a brief sketch of them is sufficient to occupy a volume of between seven and eight hundred pages of a royal, or, were we writing in America where it is published, perhaps, we ought to say, republican octavo. Nor can it be otherwise than a subject of regret, that when Christianity is transplanted to other regions than our own, it should appear beyond the waters of the Atlantic, not in one form of purity, but still distorted, discoloured, and often clothed with filthy garments. It does, we must own, appear to us very extraordinary that such various and even opposite conclusions should be derived from the same volume and from the same words, by persons, in many instances, of equal intellectual power, opportunities of information, and, perhaps, diligence of research. The more so that in other paths of knowledge and inquiry there should exist, at least, a tolerable agreement, and in some most important ones, an entire unanimity. The laws of general science being propounded by a Kepler, or a Newton, or a La Place, after patient and per-

severing investigation, no one now thinks of disputing about the theory of the planetary motions, the mathematics of gravitation, and the causes of the celestial phenomena. It is true there are parties in science, or rather in particular sciences ; but these are comparatively few, and die out in the progress of discovery. How is it then that such divisions and even hostilities should continue to exist, nay, continually multiply in theology, the noblest of all the departments of wisdom ; and this, too, when the sources of instruction are not placed in the fallible documents of human teaching, but in the unchangeable truth and faithfulness of absolute inspiration ?

How is this, we ask ? It would seem to be a moral problem of difficult solution ; and were it not for some lights thrown upon the subject by the book itself, the attempt to unravel it would be all but hopeless. That book announces the fall of the human mind from its pristine purity and power. It declares that man has become depraved in his nature, and, therefore, gross in his conceptions. His liability to error is at once then obvious, and his numberless deviations to be attributed to the double obliquity of his heart and his intellect. His passions generate a thousand prejudices, and he learns to call evil good, and good evil. Differences of opinion, therefore, will arise, and from these alienations of feeling, as well as separations of interest and association.

But in addition to these and other considerations of a general kind, we feel justified in attributing much, both of the error and the division that prevails, to a cause which at first it may appear difficult to admit, because all parties claim to do what they are too apt to question that others do, at least with equal zeal and sincerity. Notwithstanding the pretensions of all, however, it is to be doubted if any fully and properly and unsophistically obey their Master's great injunction, who puts *the book* into their hands and authoritatively says, 'Search the *Scriptures*.'

There are innumerable multitudes who, though they may read, can never be said to search them at all, being satisfied with a formal and cursory perusal, but have nothing of the spirit of inquiry. There are others whose chief object is to justify their own pre-conceptions, or to sustain their party creeds ; having no real solicitude for the discovery of truth and the correction of error. Some use the scriptures merely as a record of antiquity, to acquaint themselves with the customs of nations, or the forms of language. In a word, without adverting to other instances, these sacred writings are not employed for their designed purpose ; the object is not kept in view ; their importance is not appreciated. But even where this cannot be affirmed, there is often a great defect of devout simplicity of mind ; of that prayerful and humble spirit, without which

the mines of this field of wisdom cannot be extensively explored, nor its treasures made our own.

We do not affirm that, notwithstanding their intellectual and other differences, persons would all come to exactly the same conclusions on all points of ecclesiastical discipline or christian doctrine; but we do unhesitatingly affirm, that were the single heartedness to which we have referred more general, there would be a far greater approximation to this coincidence of judgment, and, in proportion to its prevalence, there will certainly be a sensible approach to perfect unanimity.

It has been intimated that there are some reasons for satisfaction, as well as for regret, to which we have adverted, at the appearance of this volume. The source of our satisfaction is that, notwithstanding the varieties and even strange eccentricities of opinion which are exhibited, there is, to a great extent, a substantial agreement on what is vital to christianity. The moral feeling and the essential ground of hope may evidently exist in their purity and power amidst great intellectual diversities. The stream of thought may, upon the whole, flow in the right direction and to the right issue, though there may be many windings on its way, and though such may be its tortuosities that it may often run for some distances, even in opposite courses. Among the forty sects, or more, named, we should think that there are not six who do not hold firmly what may be deemed the elements of a real christianity. It is not, however, differences of judgment in religious matters that occasion so much danger to the general interests of truth, as alienations of heart from each other, and, as incident to it, a bigoted and blind adherence to party. Nor this only, but a pertinacious regard to the minor claims and petty objects of party. If the great and simple purpose of the mind be to elicit or to propagate the truth only, then we cannot be too much of partizans. In that case mistakes will be likely to diminish in number or in influence in the progress of research, and under the teachings of experience; and if not, their effect will not be greatly or permanently detrimental. Similarity of views will naturally generate parties; but simplicity of aim will as naturally modify and purify them.

On the other side of the Atlantic, with the same divisions and subdivisions in the christian church, we find, however, some sects altogether unknown here; having distinguishing designations given them from the local circumstances in which they originated, the persons active in their origination, or the peculiarities of sentiment on some small and dividing point. We regard them mostly as shadows—in some cases as palpable absurdities, and so let them pass.

The construction of this work is peculiar, and embodies a very excellent idea. It is not a statement of the sentiments of the different religious denominations on the part of an individual, who furnishes his own representations of those sentiments, but a compilation formed of the contributions of different writers, each undertaking to give a sketch of his own denomination. This plan is certainly calculated to secure historical and doctrinal accuracy, though it may not be entirely free from objections. No writer, as it is properly said, can have had any motive wilfully to misrepresent the doctrine of the denomination of which he is a member, though he may have been influenced by a bias natural to many, to present the 'beauties of his own faith' in glowing colours; and when this may have been attempted, the reader must be left to make due allowance. We leave the editor, however, to speak for himself, in the preface, in which he unfolds the design:—

'The projector and compiler of this work, while examining, many years since, 'Histories of Religions,' and hearing numerous complaints by ministers and lay members, of different denominations, that such books had unjustly represented their religion, was forcibly impressed, that a work like the one now offered to the public, was desirable and much needed: he then conceived the plan of obtaining the history of each denomination from the pen of some one of its most distinguished ministers or professors, thus affording each sect the opportunity of giving its own history; considering that a work thus prepared might be entirely free from the faults of misrepresentation, so generally brought against books of this character.

'To supply this desideratum, and to furnish a comprehensive history of the religious denominations in the United States, and also to present to the public a book as free as possible from all grounds of complaint, the projector, two years ago, made application to many of the most prominent divines and lay members of different denominations, for their views of such a work, receiving, in all cases, their approbation, and many at once consenting to aid, by writing or procuring the necessary articles.'

As a book of reference, we can generally recommend it; but we have been a little surprised at several mistakes in the spelling of the names of persons, which, in a production of this kind, is no mean blemish; and we must also be allowed to say that some of the writers do not seem to us to be of the first order in their respective denominations; nor, perhaps, was this absolutely requisite to accomplish the object contemplated.

Art. IX.—*The Times*, August 9, 1845.

ACCORDING to annual custom, parliament has been prorogued, and its weary members have not unreluctantly left the scene of their loves and hates—of their well-contested rivalry—of their bitter strife. The pedestrian, passing the old accustomed spot, as he looks at the deserted scene, may well parody the language of Beattie, as he mournfully exclaims—

‘Tis night, and *St. Stephen's* is lovely no more.’

The reporters have at length obtained their needed rest ; and the patient reader of parliamentary debates no longer shakes his head in amazement and despair, as the ‘*Times*,’ with its ‘*Supplement*,’ is laid upon his breakfast table. Such a state of things calls for our hearty congratulation. At length we have breathing space, and room to turn. We have time to think of other things than sugar, or railways ; and, before forever it fades from our view, we would recall the session of 1845, and note, as best we can, whatever of memorable and peculiar it seemed to us to contain.

It began, as sessions begin, with the parade and show of a royal speech, as if the representatives of a great people required anything more to add to their weight than the fact, that they were in *St. Stephen's* to legislate for *the national weal*. Were they what they professed to be—were they chosen by the people, instead of being the nominees and representatives of the vested interests—for we cannot call them rights—of such men as the Dukes of Marlborough and Buckingham, a speech from the throne might be dispensed with. However, we live in a day when appearances must be kept up, and the painted mask must not for an instant be dropped. The speech, though it contained nothing, was read—as the newspapers said at the time, ‘with that beautifully clear enunciation and expression which are so characteristic of Her Majesty.’ Addresses were passed full of loyalty and gratitude, and thus the pageant of a parliament began.

‘*I am the state*,’ was the language of the Bourbon in the Augustan days of the French monarchy ; and a stranger listening in the spectator’s gallery, might well imagine that our Premier, though his sense of decency forbade his uttering it, yet thought the same thing. No man is more unsparing in the use of the personal pronoun than Sir Robert Peel. Every other sentence is but a repetition of what *I* thought and what *I* did ; and yet no man living has less of the individual—no man living has less of faith and belief—no man is more the creature of circumstances and less of fixed purpose—no man is more

eager to bid any price for popular applause—and no man is less inclined to stand in the face of the world, by that which conscience may dictate to be right. There may be men ready to die as martyrs rather than live as apostates; but they are made of sterner stuff than Sir Robert Peel. The lord of Clumber may prefer to vegetate on his paternal acres, rather than to give up every political principle, and to admit that the whole of his past political life had been a blunder; but it is quite evident that the easy going proprietor of Drayton Manor has no such uneasy scruples to sit heavy on his soul. Well may 'Punch' bring against him the charge of bigamy. Sir Robert has not even the decency

'To be off with the old love
Before he is on with the new.'

Like the Dean of St. Patrick's, he makes loves to Stella and Vanessa at once, and he practices on them all the coy tricks of the matured coquette. One moment he is cold as charity, the next hot as fire; one month dreading dependence on foreigners as the greatest of all earthly ills, the next advocating it as a consummation most devoutly to be desired; one year joining the Orangemen in the 'no Bible mutilation' cry, and the next increasing the grant for that very system of education he had so zealously denounced in 1841, with a general election before his eyes. When the Buckinghams and Freemantles were to be propitiated, and the ignorant tenantry of Norfolk and Suffolk were to be gulled, he could say in his place in parliament, 'I should like to know who has stood forward more than I have done in defence of the existing corn-laws? I should like to know whether any man, looking at the debates, can really have a doubt that my desire is to maintain a just and adequate protection to the agricultural interest.' And now it is more than probable, that the very man who will destroy what little protection his sliding scale has left the farmer will be Sir Robert Peel himself. One day, at his own little borough of Tamworth, telling the farmers of the peculiar burdens on the land; and then, when pressed by Mr. Cobden in the House of Commons, stating that he was utterly unable to declare what those peculiar burdens were. In the same session, taking the duty off an article grown by slaves, living under the worst form of slavery, the American, and then coolly paying 2,415,000*l.* to the West India planters, because, forsooth, the fastidious Sir Robert so abhors the idea of consuming the cheap and slave grown sugar of Cuba and Brazil. Men may talk about the statesmen of America; we bid them look at home. We can tell them of a man who has been a statesman eight-and-thirty

years ; who has times without number deceived the very party who invested him with power—who has broken in the House every pledge he has given on the hustings—who drove, by the most unrighteous means, in the unscrupulous use of every bigoted prejudice, his opponents from office, merely to carry through the House the very measures they themselves had framed—who has veered with every turn of the political compass—who has declared, by his daily practice, that there is no such thing as principle or truth in the political world : and who yet can command the confidence and the votes of an overwhelming majority of the representatives of the nation. Walpole had immense majorities ; but that is easily explained, when we remember Walpole's dinners to the members, and the bank-notes neatly concealed beneath the plates ; but our English gentry are not the drunken, craving, worthless set they were in the good old times. They profess to believe that honour, religion, truth, are not mere fictions of the brain—that it is requisite that public men should have principles—and that the practice of the life should not give the lie to the profession of the lip ; and yet they stand by Sir Robert in every political turnabout—stand by him as their fathers stood by the 'heaven-born minister'—

'The pilot who weathered the storm,'

and as their grandfathers rallied round Walpole, when they drank his port and pocketed his pay.

For confirmation, we point to the session that has just been brought to its close—a session that will long remain, we predict, rich in the possession of an unenviable notoriety—a session in which it may be truly remarked, those things have been done which ought not to have been done, and those things have been left undone which should have been done. When the chief actor in the parliamentary drama is the man whose portrait we have already sketched—when he has the place of honour and power—when his word is the oracle which all believe—the law to which all submit—we shall in vain expect to see anything like principle in the conduct of those who come there to legislate and rule. We begin with the very first proceedings of the session—with the financial statement, as Sir Robert chooses to term it. In a speech of three hours and a half, we have the farmer's friend come forward to assert the economical doctrines of the League, and judiciously avoiding bringing these doctrines into unpleasant collision with the giant monopolies of sugar and corn. Much has Sir Robert endeared himself to our hard-working countrymen, by that masterly policy which has retained the duty on corn—but which allows the importation

of orchill, duty free ; which says to the labourer, 'you shall pay for the sugar you require an exorbitant price, or otherwise I shall lose the votes of the West India interest ; but as a set off, glass decanters will be cheaper ; you will now be enabled to have double windows to your cottages, for the sum that single ones cost before, and—utterly unsolicited,—without one word being said, I have actually taken off the auction duty !' In truth, Sir Robert's generosity, like some men's wit, is not very obvious at the first view ; it requires some time to be completely understood, and for this paltry boon an increase of one million pounds was made in a time of peace to the navy and ordnance department, and the income-tax—a tax which, as at present it exists, cannot be for one moment defended ; which falls heaviest on the weak, and lightest on the strong, a tax which fleeces the poor man, and lets the capitalist, be he landlord or millionaire, go free ; that which the English clerk from his scanty pittance pays, but which the Irish landlord rolling in his wealth does not,—by a majority of more than two hundred votes was made perpetual.

On the 18th of February last, a yet more interesting subject of debate occupied the attention of the House. A heavy charge—a charge affecting his character as a man and minister had been brought against the secretary for the home department. The English government had been notoriously disgraced ; it had stooped to do the dirty work of foreign despots ; it had degraded itself to win a worthless smile from them. At home and abroad its conduct had elicited a well-merited contempt. We were on the continent at the time, and can affirm that the course pursued by the English government, at every public assembly, at the table d'hôte, aye, and the theatre, was held up as a matter of indignation and scorn ; and many a man, living under constitutions far less liberal than ours, could yet see and pity our degradation and dishonour. Well, parliament met ; the time for inquiry drew nigh. At length, the eventful hour came. The chivalry of our land, as they deem themselves, men of high ancestral name, of unsullied honour, of broad domains, crowded the benches of St. Stephen's ; whilst the member for Finsbury nobly endeavoured to blot out so foul a stain. The charge was fully stated, inquiry was challenged, refutation denied. What were Mr. Duncombe's resolutions ? we quote them entire.

'First, that there was a secret commission by which the sanctity of private correspondence was violated, letters opened and re-sealed, and then sent forward, as if they had never been opened, to their destination. Secondly, that Sir James Graham had exceeded his authority, and made an unscrupulous use of it, and had opened more

letters than any one of his predecessors. Thirdly, that the letters of certain foreign exiles had been opened, at the instigation of foreign powers: and that the contents had been communicated to those powers, that England had become the spy of foreign despots, and that in consequence several persons had been consigned to imprisonment and death on the scaffold. Fourthly, that the correspondence of foreign ambassadors had been opened by order of authority in this kingdom. Fifthly, that a roving commission had been sent some years ago into the manufacturing districts, to ascertain who was writing to whom; and, Sixthly, that the sanctity of his own correspondence had been violated, and that his letters had been opened by the secretary of state.'

For three nights was the debate gallantly sustained. Sir James Graham sheltered himself beneath official responsibility; Sir Robert Peel, irritated by the cutting attack made on him by Mr. D'Israeli, defended his colleague, and spoke with unusual tartness. The result is well known. Mr. Duncombe withdrew his resolutions in favour of Lord Howick's amendment, but found himself beaten by a majority of ninety-five. A few nights afterwards, even more skilfully than before, Mr. Duncombe brought the same subject forward. What he wanted was, inquiry in his own case,—his letters had been opened; he had witnesses ready to prove it. 'Let me but just be heard at your bar;' he pleaded, on ground that all could perceive; 'it may be your case to-morrow,' said he. Nothing was easier than for Sir James Graham to have vindicated his character, but that was not to be thought of for an instant, and all that Mr. Duncombe got by his motion was an idle compliment; and, considering the source whence it came, a very valuable expression of esteem. During all these debates, public opinion was one way, and the votes another. Even the members of parliament themselves could listen to Mr. Duncombe; they could cheer him as he hurled invective on the victim who, infatuated, seemed absolutely to court the exposure and to woo the blame; they could do all this; but yet independent, high-born gentlemen, as they were, they must share in the infamy the Home Secretary had so ignobly won. The degradation that he had earned for himself they must share as well. There were honourable exceptions, it is true. Lord John Manners and Monckton Milnes, and the author of 'Coningsby' refused to be dragged through the mire merely to please their own party, or to defeat a political opponent, the justness of whose case had been universally confessed; but those men who seek places for themselves or appointments for their sons,—the men with large families, with expensive habits, with narrow means—to whom the minister's smile is life, and his frown death; who

understand the miserable tactics of party, and are utterly ignorant of the weightier matters of the law; who, when the cue is given, vote to-night that to be black, which last night they voted to be white, and which to-morrow they will vote to be white again; these swelled the majority that defeated Mr. Duncombe's patriotic exertions, and by this means alone was Sir James Graham shielded from the repetition of the censure in the House, which, out of doors, had been everywhere deservedly pronounced upon his conduct. Coleridge's stinging satire has not lost its point or power. It was not in Pitt's time alone that the hero of that well-known poem—

‘ Could see a certain minister,
A minister to his mind,
Go up into a certain house
With a majority behind.’

And it was not in Pitt's time alone that that same personage could quote scripture—

‘ Like a very learned clerk,
*How Noah and his creeping things
Went up into the ark.*’

We next come to the debate on the sugar duties, in which as usual the free-traders had the arguments, and the monopolists the votes. In the debate on Lord John Russell's motion, relative to the inexpediency of keeping up a distinction between foreign free labour and foreign slave labour sugar, Mr. Macaulay delivered one of those brilliant speeches, which makes the reader regret that his oratory is not oftener applied to the cause of truth. Nothing could have been more masterly and unanswerable than the whole of that splendid performance—a speech to which Sir James Graham in vain attempted a reply; and which compelled Sir Robert himself to plead guilty. ‘It is difficult,’ said he, and judging from his conduct we should think it exceedingly difficult, ‘to take any course in which there is not some inconsistency’—an assertion on his part which might well be, as indeed it was, loudly cheered. But the West India interest was too strong for the free-traders, and Lord John Russell's motion was lost by a majority of 94. Nor were the subsequent efforts of Messrs. Cobden and Gibson more successful; and we may go on as we did before, wearing slave grown cotton—smoking slave grown tobacco—absolutely prohibiting the production of that article by free labour, on account of the three millions revenue we annually derive from its importation. We may continue buying slave grown sugar—bringing it from the Havannah or Brazil, refining it in London or Liverpool, and

then sending it abroad, that every nation under the sun may have sugar cheaper than the men whose rough hands and unwearied energies have made England the workshop of the world : and yet, at this present time, England is full to overflowing of maudlin sentiment and clap-trap philanthropy. Forgetting the mud cottages and the pauper-population of Dorsetshire, Lord Ashley comes forward, as the champion of small children, of needle-women, and of the great unwashed. In his earnest advocacy of good hours, and soap and water, he has unfortunately forgotten that charity begins at home.

But from questions of political economy, the House passed on to others more important still. In the speech made at the opening of parliament, her Majesty recommended '*the improving and extending the opportunities for academical education in Ireland.*' Rumour pointed to Maynooth, and for once spoke the truth. After the Easter recess, Sir Robert Peel—the man who had fatally damaged the Melbourne ministry by raising the no-Popery cry, came to the House and proposed a grant of 30,000*l.* for the Popish college at Maynooth. Never was there a question more diametrically opposed to the principles and feelings of the British nation—never did a question elicit a more extended or heartier opposition. Much of that opposition, however, the crafty premier appreciated at its proper value, and treated with contempt. Men who had fattened all their lives on state pay came down to Exeter Hall and Covent Garden to protest against state pay being granted to others than themselves. The British lion, said some, was roused, and the Maynooth bill could never be carried. There were men in St. Stephen's, said others, who would die sooner than that bill should become law. Alas, the bill did become law, and was carried through both Houses triumphantly ; and we have heard of no deaths amongst that small but devoted band, who were *said* to be, for we rather doubt the fact, ready to lay down their lives for the faith once delivered to the saints. 'Thank God,' said Mr. Blackburn at a meeting held at Islington, 'there is a House of Lords.' We fear that Mr. Blackburn's gratitude by this time has grown

' Small by degrees and beautifully less.'

The Lords did what the Commons did—they did not throw out the measure : it required some hardihood to expect they would. They may hate Roman catholicism ; but when the alternative is an increased grant to Maynooth, or the separation of the Irish church from the state, it is not difficult to imagine the course they would pursue. And this was the light undoubtedly in which the question was viewed in both Houses. Men of all parties professed to consider the endowment of the Roman catholic

priesthood as a natural consequence ; and it was with this idea the Bill was carried : and yet there were men—voluntaries in the abstract—even members of the Anti-state Church Association—such as Dr. Bowring and Mr. Trelawney, who voted for the grant.

As it is, the existence of the Irish church has been somewhat prolonged. There were two courses for ministers. They might have separated the church from the state. They might have said to the Roman catholics, 'You are fellow-subjects, and we will treat you as such. The church, whose ministers have ridden rough-shod through the land, which is rich with your spoil—which has been to you a terror and a scourge in every age of its existence, shall be abolished with the bitter distinctions it has created.' This they could have done, and the demon of religious animosity would at once have been banished, and order and peace would at length have visited that ill-fated land. But they preferred the other alternative ; they esteemed gold more powerful than a sense of right. The Irish church is to be continued for the present, and the Roman catholic priest is to be bribed with a paltry pittance, as disgraceful to him that gives as to him that takes. It remains to be proved, not whether the priesthood will degrade themselves, by the reception of the grant ; for though they object to state endowments for religion, yet they accept the Maynooth grant as a 'restitution'—a phrase we confess ourselves totally unable to understand—and it remains to be proved whether in the long run the dictates of expediency are to be preferred to those of principle, and whether Ireland will be much bettered by the homage protestant ascendancy has paid to fear. The short-sighted Roman catholics in Ireland have been outwitted by Sir Robert Peel. He must wonder now that he should ever have had to resign office merely on account of Ireland. The Whigs were taunted with paying court to O'Connell ; may not the self-same charge be brought against the ministers who not long since declared that 'concession had reached its utmost limits,' and whose law officers drew up the monster indictments ?

The grant to Maynooth was succeeded by the 'godless scheme of education,' as Sir Robert Inglis, in the anguish of his bosom, termed it ; and was remarkable for illustrating, if indeed that were needed, the inconsistency and utter want of principle of the ministers of the crown. It has been denounced by the Roman catholics as well. Education apart from religion, and professorships without tests ! May we not soon hope to find Cambridge and Oxford thrown open to the admission of dissenters ?

It is hardly necessary to speak here of other matters that occurred during the course of the session. The Secretary for the

Home Department has thrown out his Medical and Settlement bills, though, whatever were their merits, he might have been sure of ample majorities. We blame not, however, the government for not doing more; the less they do the better. We regret they have done so much. Were government to confine itself to what we take to be its proper department, that of keeping peace between man and man, its responsibility and labour would be much lighter than they are. To do justice alone to railway projects, requires more time and attention than can be afforded. To give them their due, we confess, that the members of parliament have been pretty constantly employed: in the committee-room all day, and in the House all night. They find, whatever they thought to the contrary, their post is no sinecure. If next session brings as many railway bills before parliament as this has done; and if Mr. Austin grows eloquent, as is his wont, on gradients, and termini, and subjects akin, many a member will regret the hour when his constituency did him the honour to elect him their representative.

But the subject wearies us, and we hasten to a close. 'Trust not in man,' is the language of Sacred writ—language that has been corroborated to the utmost possible extent during the late session. Little of good has been done; little of bad has been destroyed: but we have witnessed the fall of party. Whigs and Tories are no more: the rottenness of each of these great political parties which have held place and power ever since the Guelph family has been seated on the throne, has been proved to demonstration, and it has become apparent that the men of England, if they would achieve the liberty for which God has destined them, must put their shoulders to the wheel, and work for themselves. This session has shown, that the good seed has not been thrown away—that it has sprung up—that it promises to bear an abundant crop. It teaches, that an enlightened public opinion has been formed, which Sir Robert fears more than he does the bigotry of Oxford, or the monopolists of Buckingham. His shuffling and his inconsistency we hold in contempt. We deem it a national disgrace, that a man so reckless of principle—so careless of profession—should be the great man of the day whom all delight to honour; but the fact that he can trample on the men who raised him to power—that the ravings of bigotry which drove his predecessors from office, when raised against him, are as water spilt upon the ground—tells that there is a spirit walking the earth more potent than the Bennets and Tyrells of Essex and Suffolk, than mitred bishops, than coroneted dukes—a spirit unseen, but everywhere felt and everywhere heard, which compels the throne itself to do it ho-

mage—which tells that the darkness is past, that the day is come—that it is not in vain that Milton sang, that Hampden died, that Cromwell lived—that confessors and martyrs for the faith in days of old shrank not from the dangers of the Bastile—from the fires of Smithfield—from the *auto-da-fè* of Goa, of Lisbon, of Madrid. The Orangemen of Ireland, the no-Popery rectors of rural villages at home, will find it is hard to kick against the pricks. They cannot roll back the tide of public opinion, which advances fuller and freer every year—they cannot define its bounds—they cannot say to it, hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed. It were as easy to attempt to ride the whirlwind, or to direct the storm. Of all powers, that of the onward march of a great people is the mightiest and the surest; though, according to some, every fresh move is inevitable death, the nation shews symptoms rather of increasing prosperity. We trust the old cry of bigotry will be raised no more. During the late Maynooth debate, it signally failed. ‘The church and state are in danger,’ said one noble lord in his place in parliament, ‘if this Bill be carried; we shall have bloodshed in England;’ of course, an hereditary legislator cannot but speak the truth. It seems to us, however, that his prophecy is some time in being fulfilled. ‘We agree with him the state church is in danger; but it is in danger from its Days, and Marshes, and Moncktons, and Wetheralls—men who disgrace not the priesthood but humanity itself. The church is in danger from the increasing number of men who subscribe its creed, and eat its bread; whilst they preach the doctrines of another church. It is in danger even from its time-worn walls, where intolerance has been nursed into unnatural exuberance, and whence creep forth sworn champions of every political abuse, of every daring wrong. The church is in danger, when the people, weighing it in the balance, and finding it wanting, perceiving that it has sided with the oppressor against the oppressed—with the strong against the weak—with the rich against the poor—with the spirit of the world against the Spirit of the Lord—begin to discover that a state establishment is utterly hostile to all that is vital and spiritual in the religion of Jesus of Nazareth.

As regards free trade, the recent session has been attended with the most beneficial results. Sir Robert has laid the ground bare, and now the two monopolies of sugar and corn have nothing to shield them from the attack, or to save them when attacked. He has warned the landed and West India proprietors to set their houses in order. The hand-writing has appeared on the wall—their fate is sealed. Already we have

reached the beginning of the end ; the farmers' friends are quieted with the possession of government places, and will not dare to put forward one finger in defence of the monopoly. At the least we may expect that even the ox should know his owner, and the ass his master's crib. One agricultural duke has a blue ribbon ; another has a son with a place which much relieves the anxieties of the paternal bosom, and Sir Robert can therefore depend upon them. As for the farmers, if they still have faith in the men who represent the agricultural interest, if they still dream of protection, we must consider them in a state almost of mesmeric torpor. In the House, free-trade principles have been openly acknowledged—from abstractions, they have become practical realities. The question of the corn laws is now merely one of time. The people are with the League. Sir Robert knows well—an election is no test of popular feeling—that the masses, whatever may be the votes, are with the League and not with the monopolists ; and it will not be long before the labours of Thompson, Cobden, and Bright, will be crowned with righteous success.

Nor, as regards the spread of Voluntaryism, has the session been altogether in vain. State churches, we predict, will now, prove rather troublesome, even to the advocates of state establishments themselves. Men who care anything for religion at all, will question the propriety of paying the clergyman of the English church to preach one doctrine, and the Roman Catholic priest another, in the same parish. The conscientious episcopalian, we should imagine, will prefer rather to have his own religion unendowed, than that what he deems error should be maintained by the state. We are glad to hear episcopalians, such as the Bishop of Cashel, and Baptist Noel, declaring, rather than have two establishments in Ireland, they would prefer to separate the church there from the state. Sir James Graham stated that in the House of Commons they had only to deal with religious matters on political grounds ; a statement we thank him most sincerely for having made, and which we thank the Whigs and Tories who carried the Maynooth grant for making their own. On Sir James Graham's principles, then, if policy required it, he would be willing to endow any form of belief, whatever its truth or falsehood, and would be as ready to employ the power of the state in propagating the Shasters or the Koran, as in supporting, after a fashion, the word of God. We are glad such establishments of religion are fairly placed upon this footing. We support you, says the state to the church, not because you are the true church, but from sheer expediency, and from the same motive we are ready to support

another church that may teach what you deem damnable error. At the present time this is the favourite parliamentary theory of a state church. 'Anything for peace and quietness,' says the civil magistrate. 'I have nothing to do with the doctrines you preach to-day, I consider it expedient for you to preach from the Bible; to-morrow it may be politic for me to endow the faith held by the followers of Mahomet, of Mormon, or of Owen. Take my money and be satisfied with that.' We believe this to be a theory held by few but the liberals in the House of Commons. We cannot conceive of an earnest religionist holding the theory for an instant. It may do for the infidel, but it is impossible that a believer in the truth of christianity could consent to such an endowment. He would rather that religion should be left to itself; and to this alternative he will have to come. Even Mr. Macaulay thinks that if the voluntary principle were adopted, gentlemen with three or four thousand a year would be as religious as they are now, and we think they would, but he is afraid the poor would be deprived of an opportunity for worshipping their Maker; and for this reason he supports a national church. But what are the facts of the case? By whom are our chapels filled, but by the very men whom Mr. Macaulay fears the voluntary principle would altogether overlook? It would be well if the splendid rhetorician would take a broader view of matters than is his general wont. But we are glad that he and his fellow liberals have made clear how hollow and worthless they are. We are glad that the Maynooth question has tested the men whom, as dissenters, we have been too ready to trust. It is our own fault if they have an opportunity of betraying us again. During the late debates the ravings of bigotry had an utterance and a hearing; but if it had not been for Messrs. Sharman Crawford, John Bright, Charles Hindley, and Thomas Duncombe, no one would have imagined that there were larger classes of men in Great Britain who objected to the grant to Maynooth, not on account of sectarian animosity, but of the great principle that Cæsar may not interfere with the things of God—that the support of religious faith is a matter with which the government has nothing whatever to do. If it had not been for the conference at Crosby Hall, the invectives of Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Shiel, and Lord Brougham, would have seemed to have had some foundation in fact; and that we have been so much misunderstood, that every virtue but the right has been attributed to us, is often imputed to the readiness with which we have sacrificed our principles to gratify the Whigs. At length, we trust, our past policy, has been repudiated, as well as deplored. In adversity we have learnt wisdom. The truth is become apparent to us all, that

we must be true to ourselves—that we must choose our own men ; that we must go with them to the hustings, and support them at the poll. What if we are beaten ! we cannot be worse off than we are now. Out of the representatives we have placed in the house, but four voted with Mr. Sharman Crawford in his amendment on the third reading of the grant to Maynooth. We have nothing to lose ; and everything to gain. The battle must be fought on the floor of St. Stephen's, and we must send men there trained for the fight. Edinburgh Reviewers ;—aye, even Westminster Reviewers, fail to come up to our mark. Of free trade they know everything—of a free gospel, nothing. In the struggles against class legislation, none have been more earnest than ourselves. We have, times without number, prayed our Norman aristocracy to do justice to the Saxon worker ; but we deem a state church the most monstrous abuse that ever blighted a land, and we may not sleep while that continues to exist. To the institutions of our country we pay all due regard. We obey the law, we honour the Queen ; but, above all, we keep our loyalty to Him who sitteth in the heavens, and we must not be silent, when the religion he intended as a blessing, through man's agency is turned into a curse. We must arouse ourselves for Christianity—marred so that its heavenly lineaments are altogether lost—and, for a God, insulted and denied. It may be pleasanter to sit at our ease—to be respectable—to avoid political effort on the plea of its being utterly incompatible with spirituality of life ; to fawn upon those who smite us ; and degraded, and vile, to be more degraded, and viler still—this may suit our worldly prospects better than the indignant denunciation of wrong, and the steadfast advocacy of the right. But woe be to us if these things move us, if we become recreant to our principles, if for one moment we allow the civil governor to interfere where alone God should reign.

Advocates of civil and religious liberty, fellow-dissenters, we beseech you to prefer principle to party—to stand by *your* 'order,' for the present eventful crisis : be firm, and the Whig leader will not again compare your spiritual teachers to the painted actor on the stage. Eschew the blandishments of statesmen and the toleration of the state church. Remember that the Whig majority who carried for Sir Robert Peel the grant to Maynooth, will not again be able, without your votes, to take their seats in St. Stephen's. Let them see you are not so much enamoured with the existing state church as to have any particular desire for another. Let them see that you are in earnest—that you make state churchism the test. Let it be understood that you give your votes only to the men who

will work day and night for its destruction. We do not want you to interfere with the most successful agitation of the day, that of the League. It will be the League's own fault if any of its candidates should lose your votes and his seat. The free trader in religion, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, will be a free trader in politics. Men, who hold both principles, will be found when the crisis arrives; but, if this should not be the case, retire from the contest; let the Whigs and Tories fight it out between them, and remember the time will soon come when the election will be, not on party considerations, but on high and enlightened principles. Whether men smile or frown—whether Lord John Russell sits on the treasury benches, or Sir Robert Peel, remain firm. Be not alarmed by the cry of a split in the liberal interest. Remember, that the Premier has not been more false to the agriculturalists than the liberal interest has been to you. From one end of England to the other—from Land's End to Johnny Groats, men are laughing at those wise men of the East, the boors of Norfolk, and the Essex calves, who cannot yet see that the man for whom they turned out the Whigs, is playing them false; and you will deservedly meet with similar ridicule, if you still rally round the nominees of the Reform Clubs. The truth is, you and the liberal interest have little in common. When work is to be done, you and the Whig aristocracy must part. With their church patronage, with their younger sons and cousins, like the lean kine, snatching what they can get, and greedy for more, it were madness to expect they will join with you.

In conclusion, we again beg you to be true to yourselves—to the principles you hold—to the faith you own, and the God you serve. Turn not from the right path for interest—for man's smile or gold. To no earthly power succumb—from no duty shrink. It is fashionable to sacrifice principle to expediency, but let that be a custom better honoured by you in the breach than in the observance. Learn from the session of 1845 the falsehood of party—the utter hypocrisy of party cries—and that it is high time the people of England sent to St. Stephen's their own men to do their own work. Then would the dawn of England's true greatness appear, and her sun shine brighter and brighter to the perfect day.

Brief Notices.

The Diplomatic Correspondence of the Right Honourable Richard Hill, Envoy Extraordinary from the Court of St. James's to the Duke of Savoy, in the Reign of Queen Anne, from July 1703 to May 1706; Supplemental to the History of Europe, and illustrative of the secret policy of some of the most distinguished Sovereigns and Statesmen relative to the Spanish succession; of the rights and liberties of the Vaudois guaranteed by England, and of the wars in the Cevennes, Piedmont, and Lombardy, during that period. 2 vols. 8vo. London: John Murray.

THESE volumes, though not possessing much attraction to the general reader, will be found exceedingly valuable to the future historian of our continental politics in the early part of the eighteenth century. The period to which they relate, is one of the deepest interest and importance. Louis XIV., who had long threatened the freedom and independence of Europe, was beginning to quail before the combined forces of England, Holland, Austria, Prussia, and Portugal; and Mr. Richard Hill was despatched in July, 1703, to the Duke of Savoy, in order to secure his adhesion to the Grand Alliance. In the prosecution of his mission he had to encounter very formidable obstacles; but by his prudence, sagacity, and firmness, he ultimately succeeded in subsidizing the Duke. He was evidently, as Bishop Burnet remarks, 'very able in business;' and, though a Tory, was zealously devoted to the continental policy of King William. His letters throw much light on the character of some of the chief actors in the scenes referred to, and are specially valuable as illustrating the manner in which the British treasury has been laid under tribute for the service of other European States. To the general reader, the principal charm of the volumes will be derived from the record they furnish of the efforts made by England on behalf of the Vaudois. The treaties of 1690 and 1704, made on their behalf with the Duke of Savoy; the edict for their re-establishment in 1694, and many letters and other documents expressive of English sympathy with that interesting people, are interspersed with other matters which the historian will highly prize. To all those, therefore, whose habits incline them to a minute investigation of the causes of events, or who are interested in acquiring a more accurate knowledge of men and events than daily journals furnish, we cordially recommend the volumes before us.

A Popular History of Priestcraft in all Ages and Nations. By William Howitt. Seventh edition, with large additions. London: J. Chapman.

The seventh edition of a book is somewhat of a marvel in our days, and we congratulate Mr. Howitt, and the good cause to which his

labours have been devoted, on his having attained this distinction. It is needless that we should say anything in praise of a volume which has received such patronage. The author has done right in acknowledging the favour of the public, by improving his volume to the utmost, and we strongly recommend such of our readers as are not already acquainted with it, to lose no time in making its acquaintance. The present edition contains several entirely new chapters, and the whole work has been so got up as to present three times the original information, at a considerably reduced price. The following extract is a sample of the information which Mr. Howitt supplies, and will serve to explain the secret cause of that zeal which our aristocracy evinces on behalf of the State-Church.

'The whole history of the church of England shows how completely the aristocracy have looked upon it as a source of plunder, and a mere money concern. The amount of property which they managed to get hold of when Henry VIII. broke up the catholic establishment was enormous. It constitutes the immense estates of some of our proudest nobility, particularly of the house of Bedford. Few of the old families of the nobility and gentry but hold comfortable morsels of it. The amount of tithes that got into the possession of the laity is immense. But the property, still called church property, is not the less the prey of the aristocracy. In the first place, they hold possession of the whole of the parish livings in one shape or another. By a return to parliament in 1818, the number of churches and chapels of the Establishment in the kingdom, was 11,743. Of these the crown presented 1,041, or, in other words, the aristocracy in power had the patronage of them under the following heads.

The first lord of the treasury	103
— lord chancellor	899
— chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster	39
	<hr/>
	1,041
The 26 bishops	1,303
— 30 deans and chapters	1,037
— 20 colleges of Oxford	403
— 18 colleges of Cambridge	280
300 peers and baronets	1,400
Six schools, etc., in London, etc.	45
About 4,000 private patrons	6,234
	<hr/>
	11,743
	<hr/>

'Thus, with the exception of perhaps a few out of the forty-five presented by schools, though public schools in the country are generally, too, under the management of the aristocracy, the whole of the livings of England are the property of the aristocracy, to present to their children and relatives, and, in default of these, to sell to the highest bidder; as we have shown is done every day. The following list will show some of the causes of opposition to church reform in the House of Peers, besides what originates with the bishops.

	WHIGS.	Livings.
The Earl of Craven is patron of ...		13
— Earl of Albemarle		9
— Duke of Cleveland		14
— Duke of Sutherland		8

— Duke of Portland	10
— Duke of Bedford	27
— Earl Fitzwilliam	31
— Duke of Devonshire	48
— Duke of Norfolk	21
Lord Yarborough	15

TORIES.

The Marquis of Aylesbury	9
— Marquis of Bath	13
— Earl of Lonsdale	32
— Duke of Buckingham	13
— Marquis of Bristol	20
— Earl of Shaftesbury	12
— Duke of Northumberland	13
— Duke of Rutland	29
— Duke of Beaufort	29

‘The bishops, including the four Irish ones now in parliament, have upwards of 1,900 livings in their gift, and the peers altogether about 4,050.’

The Life of Isaac Milner, D.D. F.R.S., Dean of Carlisle, etc. Comprising a portion of his Correspondence and other writings, hitherto unpublished. By his Niece, Mary Milner. Second Edition, abridged. London: Seeley and Co.

IN this edition various matters relating to the University of Cambridge, and devoid of general interest, have been omitted, while some additions have been made which increase the value and usefulness of the work. It has thus been brought within the dimensions of ‘The Christian Family Library,’ and cannot fail to obtain, as it well merits, a wide circulation. There are of course many things in the volume to which we do not assent, but we love christian excellence wherever it is found, and not the less, for such points of minor discrepancy as may exist between equally devoted believers.

Illustrations of the Practical Power of Faith, in a series of Popular Discourses on part of the Eleventh Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews. By T. Binney. Second edition. London: J. Snow.

‘THERE has been no endeavour,’ Mr. Binney informs us in his Advertisement to this edition, ‘to introduce improvements,’ and he then proceeds in a manner more creditable to his modesty, than satisfactory to us, to state reasons for the fact. Few volumes have recently appeared which needed improvement less, yet we should have been glad to receive the benefit of the Author’s reflection and growing experience between 1830, when the first edition was published, and 1844, when the present one made its appearance. However, we are glad to receive it even in its present form, and cordially recommend its early perusal to such of our readers as have not already been benefitted by it. Its style and tone of thought are thoroughly healthful, while its exhibitions of practical christianity are admirably adapted to command the respect and confidence of all intelligent readers.

Benevolence in Punishment, or Transportation made Reformatory. pp 175.
Seeley. 1845

THERE is great difference between a morbid sympathy with criminals, and a benevolent regard for their welfare. They are opposites. The one implies weak impressions of crime, the other powerful; the one is cruelty to the innocent public, the other kindness. It will be well if the miserable displays of the first that have been made of late do not produce a re-action to the injury of the last. The little work before us is a sensible plea, written in a good spirit, for the treatment indicated in the title. On some points we dissent from the author; but his many suggestions and important facts, deserve the attention of all who would unite in the highest degree justice with mercy.

A Supplement to the Horæ Paulinæ of Archdeacon Paley; wherein his argument from undesigned coincidences is applied to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the First Epistle of Peter; and shewing the former to have been written by the Apostle Paul. By Edward Biley, A.M., late Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge; Minister to the English resident at Tours, in France. pp. 228. Seeley. 1845.

MR. BILEY is, according to the accounts we have heard of him, a minister of the right sort, working hard and doing good, in the important sphere which he occupies. His addiction, therefore, to such studies as the present publication indicates, is highly commendable. No one, acquainted with the nature of the subject, will entertain a poor opinion of the judgment or diligence of him who fulfils such a task with tolerable success.

The celebrated argument of Paley, drawn from undesigned coincidences, is *in itself* a very admirable one. We say 'in itself,'—for we do not imagine that it possesses much actual efficacy in the case of unbelievers. It requires a careful attention, a delicacy of judgment, an impartial perseverance, which are rather to be looked for from the believing than the sceptical—from those who do not need it, than from those who do. And it is an argument that requires such nice management to have any force at all—affording so much room for fancy—and demanding such clearness of mind and candour of feeling—that very few are likely to wield it well. Mr. Biley appears to possess in a considerable degree the qualifications necessary to its safe and successful conduct, and has produced a work which it is no presumption to call a 'Supplement to the Horæ Paulinæ.' It bears signs of an intelligent, candid, careful mind, and will be valued by those whose tastes or wants dispose them towards such inquiries.

The value of the work is increased by the appendix, containing a reference to some errors in Eusebius—a vindication of the usual mode of explaining, 2 Thess. ii. 3—8,—and a Table of Paul's Journeys, compiled from the Acts and the Epistles.

Thoughts on the Holy Spirit and his Work. By the Author of 'Thought upon Thought.' pp. 347. Snow. 1845.

THE former work of this author obtained a good measure of acceptance. The title was attractive, and the matter such as to repay perusal. The present is a more important effort of authorship; but we question whether it fulfils the promise of its predecessor. The subject is well chosen. If the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is a truth, it is a momentous truth, and nothing can be more desirable than the possession of scriptural views of it. There is much to occasion apprehension in the tendency of opinion, in some quarters, upon this subject. Friends as we are to the fullest investigation of theological dogmas, and destitute as we are of all sympathy with very much that is 'assuredly believed' and taught respecting divine influence by some orthodox schools, we yet regard with unaffected concern many speculations that have appeared in modern times upon this prime article of the christian faith. It is not difficult to see that, under cover of a philosophic or scriptural phraseology, they do, in fact, deny the real doctrine of the Holy Ghost. Pressed by the moral difficulties of the subject, men have sought to evade them, and have been thus led by degrees, imperceptible perhaps to themselves, to get rid of the doctrine altogether—their philosophy and their exegesis being worthy of each other. There is no topic of scriptural theology more deserving, and more in need of a thorough discussion, at the present time, than the doctrine of divine influence, nor one that requires in its discussion a larger combination of the highest intellectual and spiritual qualifications. We cannot congratulate our author on being the man to meet the necessity of the case. He has produced a practical treatise, containing a considerable amount of scriptural truth, and many thoughts that none can deny, and all should remember, but he has not added anything to our knowledge of the subject, nor presented common ideas in any new form or combination. The following are the contents of the volume:—Part I.—The Holy Spirit. Section 1. His Personality. 2 His Deity. Part II.—The Work of the Spirit in relation to Christian Experience. Section 1. The Spirit, the author of New Life. 2. The Means the Spirit employs in effecting his gracious Work. 3. Conviction of Sin the Work of the Spirit. 4. The Intercession of the Spirit. 5. The Witness of the Spirit. 6. The Striving of the Spirit. 7. The Love of the Spirit. 8. On grieving the Spirit. 9. The Sin against the Holy Ghost. Part III.—The Work of the Spirit in relation to the Extension of the Kingdom of Christ. Section 1. The Preaching of the Gospel the Dispensation of the Spirit. 2. The Glory of Christ the End of the Spirit's operations. 3. A perishing World waiting for the Reviving Spirit.

Hogg's Weekly Instructor. Parts I. to IV. Royal 8vo. Edinburgh: James Hogg.

It is somewhat out of our course to notice such publications as the present, yet there is so much in the plan and execution of this work

which we heartily approve, that we cannot lay it by without a tribute of commendation. As the title imports, it is issued weekly, and consists of sixteen pages royal 8vo, printed in double columns, with a clear type, at the low price of three halfpence. It has originated, and the numbers we have seen bear out the statement, 'in a motive purer and better than a thirst for distinction, or a desire to make money.' Though not, in the conventional sense of the word, a religious publication, it evinces a supreme regard to its influence, scrupulously shuns what is unfriendly to religion, and does not hesitate on all suitable occasions to offer explicit homage to its divinity and worth. Science and literature, biographical sketches of celebrated persons, and excursions into the wide field of general history, together with poetry and fiction, are combined in happy proportions, and throughout the whole there is evinced much taste and solid information. The useful and the pleasing are united in an unusual degree; and we can scarcely imagine a work at once more suited and more attractive to our younger readers. As a family book it may be introduced with confidence, and when once known, its presence will not be readily dispensed with. It may be had in monthly, as well as in weekly, parts.

The Church Advancing; a Popular Address to Roman Catholics, on the present Encouraging Aspect of Affairs: designed to stimulate the Faithful to retrieve the Error and efface the Crime of the Reformation. Edited by J. Wakeham. 8vo. pp. 23. London: Aylott and Jones.

A SHREWD and clever pamphlet, in which the author skilfully traces the essential element of Puseyism throughout its various ramifications, and shews that, under every form, it is opposed to the spirituality of the christian system, and the free thought and manly growth of the human soul. How the 'Address' came into the hands of its editor we are told 'it would be inconvenient to divulge,' and for the proofs of its genuineness and authenticity, reference is made to itself. We leave our readers to form their own judgment on these points, after having perused the pamphlet for themselves, and especially recommend to their attention that part which relates to the puseyism of dissent. Strange as it may appear, there is much of this, and we thank the editor, whoever he may be, for having directed attention to it. By the bye, it is only fair to remark, that his observations indicate a misconception of the sentiments of one at least of the denominations referred to, but this is no marvel on the part of an advocate, real or feigned, of the papal church. We cordially recommend the pamphlet to our readers. There is a dry humour and raciness in it, a suppressed laughter, yet depth of conviction, which it is refreshing to meet with.

The Mission ; or Scenes in Africa : written for Young People. By Captain Marryat, 2 vols. London : Longman.

As the title-page imports, these small volumes are intended for young people, and to such they will prove vastly attractive. They are full of adventure, literally crowded with lions, elephants, hippopotami, buffalos, and other wild beasts. The tale itself is very simple and soon told. The only daughter of Sir Charles Wilmot, an elderly gentleman, was wrecked in the Grosvenor East Indiaman, and for a long time was supposed to have been drowned. Rumours, however, at length reached England that some of the passengers had been saved, and were still living amongst the wild tribes of Africa. Sir Charles was of course greatly excited by these rumours, and his grand-nephew, Alexander Wilmot, volunteered to go to Africa in order to ascertain their truth or falsehood. In the prosecution of this mission he repaired to the Cape, whence, accompanied by Mr. Swinton, a naturalist, and Major Henderson, an officer of the Indian Army, then on leave of absence, he travelled into the interior, and speedily satisfied himself of the death of his relative. Such is a bare outline of the fiction. The filling up consists of hunting expeditions, illustrations of natural history, sketches of distinguished chiefs, and delineations of the habits of Bushmen, Caffres, and Hottentots. The tone of the work is eminently correct, and the attempt at the *religious* is so obvious as to produce something like a ludicrous effect. Full justice is done to the missionary and to the worth of his labours, and there is a heartiness in this which betokens sincerity.

In a literary point of view, however, the work before us will not raise the author's reputation, neither can we consent to accept it as a substitute for the 'Peter Simples' and 'Jacob Faithfuls,' which he formerly provided for our entertainment.

The Descriptive New Testament. By Ingram Cobbin. Smith.

THIS volume is intended for 'youth, somewhat advanced in knowledge,' and forms a worthy addition to the works explanatory and illustrative of the Word of God, by which Mr. Cobbin has laid the religious public under obligation. It contains the authorised version ; notes explanatory of rites, customs, sects, phraseology, topography, and geography ; upwards of eighty embellishments ; and two maps, one of the Holy Land, and one of the travels of Paul. The design is good, and appears to be well executed. As a present to youth, we know nothing better than the 'Descriptive New Testament.'

Christ, the Christian's God and Saviour. In four Parts. By the late Rev. James Spense, M.A. pp. 286.

THIS treatise was written by an excellent man, whom God removed

in the midst of his days, and who has left behind him a grateful savour of Christ. The author gives as reasons for its publication the following :—

‘First—I think it may be useful to those persons who cannot afford to purchase the works of Drs. Wardlaw and Smith, on the same subject, and yet desire to see it treated at greater length than is done in single sermons, or in very small books.

‘Second—The evidence is presented in rather a new form ; and, through the goodness of God, may carry conviction to some minds, which have hitherto resisted and rejected the truth.

‘Third—The inspiration of the scriptures, which has been assumed by orthodox writers in this controversy, is in this treatise, although briefly, I trust satisfactorily, proved to all that are disposed to pay deference to the authority of Christ.’

This is not saying too much. Without expressing an opinion on particular arguments, and quotations, we can conscientiously commend the work to attention, as a popular, and, for its extent, comprehensive, discussion of the ‘Witness of Christ—the Holy Scriptures’—‘The Person of Christ, God-man’—‘The Work of Christ, Atonement, Intercession, Reign’—‘The Claims of Christ, or the Duties we owe Him.’ It is written in a clear style, with good sense and ability. There is a large class of persons in whose hands we should like to see it, believing that its intelligence would secure respect, and that its reasoning would assist faith.

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1. *A Manual of Phonography ; or, Writing by Sound : a natural method of writing by signs that represent the sounds of language, and adapted to the English language as a complete system of Phonetic Short Hand.* By Isaac Pitman. Bagster.
 2. *The Alphabet of Nature.* By Alexander John Ellis, B.A., originally published in the *Phonotypic Journal*. Bagster.
 3. *The Phonotypic Journal, for the year 1844.* Vol. 3. Bagster.

THESE are some only of the publications now lying before us on the subject of phonography and phonotypy, a system of writing and printing, ‘in which the same sound has always the same symbol, and the same symbol has always the same sound.’ We presume that no one can doubt the desirableness of establishing, if it can be done, ‘an exact correspondence between the writing and pronunciation.’ It would be, to use the words of Sir John Herschel, ‘one of the most valuable acquisitions not only to philologists, but to mankind ; facilitating the intercourse between nations, and laying the foundation of the first step towards a universal language, one of the great *desiderata*, at which mankind ought to aim, by common consent.’ But we can easily see how encumbered with difficulties is the prosecution of this design. It will be impeded by ignorance, prejudice, and habits, that are well nigh enough to terrify the stoutest heart, in addition to all the common and necessary difficulties of any such

undertaking. The subject has, however, been taken up, by apparently honest, earnest and intelligent men. A phonographic institution is in existence—the press has been set vigorously to work—and the ‘literary reform’ has made some progress.

Memoirs and Remains of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St. Peter's Church, Dundee. By the Rev. Andrew A. Bonar, Minister of the Free Church of Scotland, Collace. 2 vols. Hamilton, Adams and Co.

MR. M'CHEYNE was a minister of the church of Scotland, belonging to the ‘Free’ party, and forming one of the deputation to Palestine. His course was brief, his ‘sun went down while it was yet day,’ for he was born in 1813, and died in 1843. Yet did he *live* long, for his life was one of eminent spirituality, laboriousness, and fruit. Seldom, indeed, have we met with a finer specimen of ‘the man of God.’ The power of his ministry, and the charm of his memoir, is love to Christ, and we can scarcely imagine a private christian, or a pastor, tracing his course and perusing his remains, without being baptized afresh with the spirit of the gospel. Our recommendation of these volumes is not formal. We earnestly hope our readers, and especially our ministerial readers, will possess and ponder them, for the sake of their piety. Verily they are needed.

Life in Earnest. Six Lectures on Christian Activity and Ardour. By the Rev. James Hamilton, National Scotch Church, Regent-square. pp. 136. Nisbet and Co. 1845.

MR. HAMILTON is evidently a man of imagination, in the habit of observing men and things, and anxious to do good. We should call these lectures ‘preaching in earnest.’ They have an aim, and are addressed towards it with considerable skill. The freedom and freshness of the style and spirit, contrast favourably with the monotony and tameness of a great portion of printed sermons.

Literary Intelligence.

Just Published.

The World surveyed in the 19th Century; or Recent Narratives of Scientific and Exploratory Expeditions (undertaken chiefly by command of Foreign Governments). Translated, and (where necessary) abridged by W. D. Cooley. Vol. I., Parrot's Journey to Ararat.

The Modern Orator, Part VIII. Sheridan, Part VI.

The Hexaplar Psalter. The Book of Psalms, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. The Hebrew Text after Van der Hooght, the Greek of the LXX, the Vulgate Latin, Jerome's Hebrew Latin, the English Liturgical Version, and the English Authorized Version, in six parallel columns.

The Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter, in which the construction of every word is indicated, and the root of each distinguished by the use of Hollow and other Types.

Knight's Book of Reference. Political Dictionary, Vol. I., Part VII.

The Anti-state-church Catechism, adapted for popular use. By the Rev. A. J. Morris.

Remarks on the Connexion between Religion and the State. By William Urwick, D.D.

A Concise View of the Ordinance of Baptism. By William Urwick, D.D. Songs, Ballads, &c.

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Miscellaneous Poems. By Elizabeth Piddocke Roberts.

Illustrations of the Law of Kindness. By the Rev. G. W. Montgomery. Second Edition, with Considerable Additions, and a Supplementary Chapter on Almsgiving, by John Washbourn.

Memoirs of the late Rev. John Reid, M. A., of Bellary, East Indies: comprising Incidents of the Bellary Mission for a period of eleven years, from 1830 to 1840. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D.

Notes on the Rise, Progress, and Prospects of the Schism from the Church of Rome, called the German Catholic Church, instituted by Johannes Ronge and J. Czerzki in October, 1844, on occasion of the pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Treves. By Samuel Laing, Esq.

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Sacred Biography illustrative of Man's Threefold State, the Present, Intermediate, and Future. By J. Smith, M. A.

Christian Exertion, or the Duty of the private Members of the Church of Christ to labour for the Souls of Men, explained and enforced.

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The History of the Conspiracy of Catiline and of the Jugurthine War. By Caius Crispus Sallustius. Translated by Edward Peacock, M.A.

Tract xc. Historically Refuted; or a Reply to a work by the Rev. F. Oakely, entitled the Subject of Tract xc. historically examined. By William Goode, M.A., F.S.A.

Letters of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland, selected from the 'Recueil des Lettres de Marie Stuart,' together with Chronological Summary of Events during the reign of the Queen of Scotland. By Prince Alexander Labanoff. Translated with notes, and an Introduction, by William Turnbull, Esq.

The Biblical Repository and Classical Review. Edited by John Holmes Agnew. July, 1845.

The History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church; containing an account of its Origin, Government, Doctrines, Worship, Revenues, and Clerical and Monastic Institutions. By John Lingard, D.D. 2 Vols. 8vo.

The Bible Student's Concordance; by which the English Reader may be enabled readily to ascertain the literal meaning of any word in the Sacred Original. By Aaron Pick.

The Church of Scotland Pulpit. Vol. I.

A Handbook of Devotion. By Robert Lee, D.D.